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# MEMOIRS

OF

# CLAN FINGON,

## WITH FAMILY TREE.

BY

REV. DONALD D. MACKINNON, M.A.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
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Dedicated

TO

WILLIAM ALEXANDER MACKINNON

OF THAT ILK,

THIRTY-FOURTH CHIEF OF THE NAME.

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# PREFACE.

A FEW words will suffice to introduce these pages to the members of the Clan.

Since publishing my "Memoirs of Clan Fingon" in 1882, I have come across a considerable amount of fresh matter, all of which I have carefully preserved.

During the eighteen years which have passed since then the Clan sentiment may be said to have advanced by leaps and bounds.

Much of this is due to the formation nine years ago of our admirable and prosperous Clan Society.

Another generation is fast springing up around us who cannot possibly possess detailed records of the history of their Clan. No volume exists which will supply their needs in this respect. There can be but a very limited number of copies of my earlier work in existence for a considerable portion of that edition was destroyed by a fire on the publisher's premises.

For these chief causes I have been induced to re-write my work.

The labour spent upon it has been considerable—nothing perhaps is so troublesome as building a new work upon an old,

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one; yet the labour is lightened by the interest of the subject and if the "Memoirs" recommend themselves to my fellow Clansmen, I shall be more than rewarded for my pains.

To avoid as far as possible the wearisomeness of quotations, a list of the principal works consulted has been placed at the end of the book, where also will be found the names of the original subscribers.

For the rest, I desire to thank those many Clansmen who have been so courteous in replying to my queries and placing documents in their possession at my disposal.

SPELDHURST RECTORY,
TUNBRIDGE WELLS,
*December, 1899.*

DONALD D. MACKINNON.

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# INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

On the question of the original descent of the Clan MacKinnon a difficulty has arisen which I suppose will never now be solved.

In recent times an ancient document has been discovered, which traces the origin of the Clan to Fergus II. the Great, son of Erc, who held a part of Britain with the Dalriadic Kingdom, and died A.D. 502.

This record is from the pen of Tighernac, the Irish Annalist, who died A.D. 1088, having been contemporary with Duncan, Macbeth and Malcolm Canmore. It is the earliest authentic document on this subject extant, and as such is entitled to great attention, while the likelihood of its accuracy is strengthened by the testimony of two very ancient corresponding documents and by other trustworthy records of the earliest history of the Kingdom of Scotland.

Tighernac traces the genealogy of Clan Fingon as follows:—

Niall mhic (son of)
Gillabrighde (Gillebride) mhic
Eogain (Ewen) mhic
Gillabrighde mhic
Sean (old) Eogain mhic
Finlaeic mhic
Fingainne o fuiled Clan Fingaine mhic (Fingaine from whom the Clan MacKinnon son of
Cormac mhic
Airbertaigh mhic
Murchertaigh mhic
Fearchair oig (young) mhic
Micbeathaidh (Macbeth) mhic
Finlaeic mhic
Fearchar fada (tall) mhic
Fearadaig mhic
Fergusa (Fergus II.)



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Tighernac also makes mention of the fact that Lochene, the son of Fingen, King of the Cruithne or Picts, died A.D. 645, that Kenneth, son of Alpin, King of the Picts, died A.D. 858, and that Donald, son of Alpin, King of the Picts, died A.D. 862.

On the other hand the family Trees all agree in tracing the Clan to Ailpein, King of Scotland, commonly called Alpin, who was slain by Brudus, King of the Picts, from whom he had wrested the sceptre of that Kingdom A.D. circ. 834. As this ancestry has been generally accepted, I have adopted it in my genealogy.

With regard to the word Clan as it is used in the title of these memoirs, something must be said for the benefit of those readers who may be unacquainted with Scottish history.

Clan in Gaelic signifies children or descendants. From original MSS. in the possession of Forbes, of Culloden, we learn that a Highland Clan is a set of men all bearing the same surname and believing themselves to be related the one to the other, and to be descended from the same common stock.

In each Clan there are several subaltern tribes, who own their dependence on their immediate Chief; but all agree in owing allegiance to the supreme Chief of the Clan or kindred, and look upon it to be their duty to support him at all adventures.

The system of Clanship, then, made the people follow their Chief as the head of their race and the representative of the common ancestor of the whole Clan, while the feudal system made the people obey their leader as feudal proprietor of the lands to which they were attached, and for their portion of which they were bound to render military service.

It must be distinctly understood that we are now describing the *Highland* Clans and not the Lowland ones, amongst whom in most instances very different laws prevailed.

Roughly speaking, the Grampian chain formed the boundary between the Highlands and Lowlands, but perhaps this is better described by drawing a line from Nairn through Glenlivet to Ballater and Blairgowrie, thence direct south-west to Dumbarton and down the centre of the Clyde round the Isle of Arran to the Mull of Cantyre. All *North* and *West* of this line is Highland —all *East* and *South* of it Lowland.

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To continue: A few explanatory notes on technical terms will, I think, be useful and save frequent notes *in loco*. The spelling adopted is generally Gaelic.

Dealing more particularly with the Islands of the Western Highlands we find that until the Forfeiture of A.D. 1493 the Macdonald, as Lord of the Isles, held his council at Finlaggan in Isla —it consisted of four thanes, four arnims or sub-thanes, four bastards or freeholders and four factory-landed men. Besides these there was a judge for every Isle—each with a special office —thus it was the duty of the Chief of MacFingon to see weights and measures adjusted; the Chief of Macduffie to keep the records of the Isles, and so on.

The Maormar was the Chief; the Tanist was the next in succession; the Toisich was the oldest cadet among the Ceanntaighean or heads of houses; the Daoin Uaisle were the gentry of the Clan, all cadets of the house of the Chief.

The Chief's staff were (i) the Henchman; (ii) the Bard or Poet; (iii) the Bladair or spokesman; (iv) the Gillemor or bearer of the broadsword; (v) the Gillecasafliuch, who carried the Chief when on foot over the fords; (vi) the Gillecoinnhideachd, who had to lead the Chief home through dangerous passes; (vii) the Gilletruisalaich or baggage man; (viii) the Piper, who was a gentleman; and (ix) the Piper's Gillie, who carried the bag-pipes.

With regard to religion we may note that in A.D. 414 the British Bishop Ninian converted the Southern Picts; in A.D. 431 Palladius was sent from Rome as Primus Episcopus to the "Scotos in Christum Credentes"; in A.D. 432 Patrick went to Ireland; and in A.D. 565 the Irish Presbyter Columbus converted the Northern Picts, and theirs was called the Culdee Church.

Their principal feasts were Bealtuinn (May 1st), and Samhuin (All-hallow Eve), indicative of their former idolatry.

Superstition held, and to a certain extent still holds, great sway in the Highlands. The principal of these are a belief in Daoineshith or fairies; a belief in the influence of departed spirits over temporal affairs and second-sight.

Ossian was a valuable historical poet; in him we possess the oldest record of the history of a very remote age.



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Ceann Odhar was the prophet of the Highlands. In predicting the migrations of the Clans, he said: "Whenever there shall have been successively three MacKinnons of the same Christian name, oppressors will appear in the country and the people will change their own land for a strange one." This is said to have been fulfilled.

The style of Highland music was remarkable for its great simplicity, wildness, and pathos. The scale differs from the diatonic and is defective, wanting the fourth and the seventh. The most ancient instrument was the harp—perhaps the bag-pipe was as ancient, but until the wars of the 16th and 17th centuries it had not become the popular instrument.

The most ancient dress was (i) the Highland shirt stained with saffron (the lower part of this would be the Feileadh Beag or Kilt), (ii) the Breacan or belted plaid, (iii) the short Highland coat, (iv) the Cuaran or Buskins. The shirt of the common people was painted, and they wore the plaid over the shoulders instead of belting it about the body like the gentry. The truis probably came from Ireland about A.D. 1538.

Their weapons were (i) the claymore or broad sword, (ii) the battle-axe, (iii) the spear, (iv) the bow and arrow, (v) the dirk.

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## CHAPTER I.

"Let the Clan of gray Fingon, whose offspring has given
Such heroes to earth, and such martyrs to Heaven,
Unite with the race of renowned Rori Mòr,
To launch the long galley, and stretch to the oar."

*The Gathering of the Clans at Glenfinnan*

## ERRATA.

e 11, line 9, read *jollification.*
29, „ 11, read *Lachlan.*
42. „ 22, read *Achnacarry.*
43, note line 3, read *Laird.*
45, line 29, for "where" read *when.*
49, „ 18, read *10th.*
„ „ 35, read *Morar.*
50. „ 29, after "died" read "*at Bath where he had been sent by friends in hopes of saving his life.*"
51, „ 7, dele *(in 1751).*
57, „ 5, read *Amen.*
76. „ 8, read *d. unm.*
82, „ 1, read *angustæ.*
101, „ 25. dele [ ].
106, „ 20, read *scenes.*
„ note line 3, for "or" read "*of.*"
116, „ „ 6, read *Ciudad.*
169, line 2, read *Kinglake.*
190, „ 38, for "him" read "*me.*"
196, „ 11, read *circle.*

I have thought it would be more interesting to leave them in most particulars as they were.

The Parish of Strath is in the Presbytery of Skye and Synod of Glenelg.

With regard to the name, it was sometimes called Strath Mhic Ionmhuinn which some writers have thought is a poetical expression meaning the Valley of the Son of Love, but as MacFingon has been spelt in such a variety of ways by both ancient and modern writers, it would be unseemly on my part to constitute myself a final judge,

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The style of Highland music was remarkable for its great simplicity, wildness, and pathos. [illegible] from the diatonic and is defective, wanting the fourth [illegible] most

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## CHAPTER I.

"Let the Clan of gray Fingon, whose offspring has given
Such heroes to earth, and such martyrs to Heaven,
Unite with the race of renowned Rori Mòr,
To launch the long galley, and stretch to the oar."

*The Gathering of the Clans, at Glenfinnan.*

A D. 1745.

### THE MACKINNONS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

ALTHOUGH, as we shall presently see, the MacKinnons were located in Mull and its adjacent Islands from a remote period subsequent to the great migrations of the Clans, yet as the country (in more recent times called the parish) of Strath in the Isle of Skye is known to have been the property of the family and the residence of the Chief as far back as A.D. 1354, we shall at once introduce our readers to that beautiful Island through the medium of the statistical accounts of Scotland, which were drawn up with the utmost care by the Ministers of the various parishes in 1845. The Rev. John MacKinnon was then Minister of Strath, having succeeded his father Donald in that office who died in 1831 at the age of 100 years.

John, and in an eminent degree Donald, were both noted for their antiquarian researches, and I have relied upon their carefully compiled "Trees" to a very large extent in this work for my genealogical information. With regard to the parochial statistics it must be remembered they are those of 50 years ago, but I have thought it would be more interesting to leave them in most particulars as they were.

The Parish of Strath is in the Presbytery of Skye and Synod of Glenelg.

With regard to the name, it was sometimes called Strath Mhic Ionmhuinn which some writers have thought is a poetical expression meaning the Valley of the Son of Love, but as MacFingon has been spelt in such a variety of ways by both ancient and modern writers, it would be unseemly on my part to constitute myself a final judge,

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especially when McBean, of Inverness, Professor MacKinnon, of Edinburgh University, and other competent critics are still controversially engaged on the question.

It was sometimes also called Strath-Swordale, from the Gaelic "Strath," a valley with a river and "swordale," a place in the centre of a parish. Its extent is 26 miles long and 6 miles broad; bounded on the north by the parish of Portree, on the south by the parish of Sleat, on the east by the sea (the islets of Scalpay and Pabbay belong to it) and on the west by the parish of Bracadale. The landscape is one of rare grandeur with the jagged Cuillins on the west rising to 3,290 ft. above sea level, the lovely lake of Cöir-Uisge, one of Prince Charlie's romantic caves south of the bay of Scavaig, while on the north of it is secreted the far-famed spar-cave of Strathaird. Unfortunately, there is a reverse side to the scenery. S. and S.W. winds prevail, and generally for rain. N. and N.E. winds bring fine weather in summer, but in winter sleet and snow. The climate therefore is on the whole cold damp and changeable, bringing acute rheumatism, pleuritic affections, consumption and other pulmonary diseases. The pure atmosphere and sea-air, however, compensate for this and make the island a healthy resort for many people. The parish is intersected by several arms of the sea, all with safe anchorages. There are many fresh water springs often chalybeate, and many small lakes full of trout and frequently salmon. The mountains consist of trap and syenite, the valleys of limestone. There is a bed of the finest marl from Loch Slappen to the sound of Scalpay. In some parts brown calcareous sandstone alternates with shale full of organic remains of fish and shell-fish. In Pabbay Isle petrified eels 18 inches long are found, also oysters, mussels, welks and limpets. There is an alluvial deposit from Loch Slappen through the Vale of Strathmore to Loch Eynort; near Kyleakin a great deposit of about a mile, with presence of gneiss, hornblende and schist.

Of Mammalia, red-deer, roe-deer, fox, weasel, wild-cat, otter and seal are common, while the polecat is rare. Of land-birds there are grouse, black-game, ptarmigan, partridge, eagles, hawks, ravens, hooded crows, &c. A grouse and a rook were each once seen with white wings. Of aquatic birds there are wild goose, cormorants, scarts, teal, mallard, tern and gulls. Of Waders: heron, water-hen, corn-

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rail, woodcock, snipe, golden plover, lap-wing, &c. Of fish: salmon, trout, cod, haddock, whiting, ling, lythe, coal-fish, skate, sand-eel, conger-eel, thorn-back, flounder, sole, some John Doree, sea-devil, grey and red gurnard, mullet, dog-fish, king-fish, cuttle-fish, &c. Of shell-fish: good small oysters at Scalpay sound, mussel, cockle, razor-fish, welk, crab, limpet and lobster.

As to Botany, the rare *Eriocaulon septangulare* is peculiar to this district, also the *Dryas octopetala*. Planted timber thrives. Ash grows 4 ft. in one season. Ash, birch and hazel are the commonest trees. The apple, pear, cherry, gooseberry and currant thrive. Pine once flourished as large trunks are found embedded in the moss.

As to antiquities: there are remains of "cills" or Culdee places of worship—one called Ashig was evidently dedicated to one of their saints, S. Asaph; one at Kilbride (S. Bride); one at Kilmorie (Cella Mariæ) and one in the island of Pabbay. At Boreraig there is a Teampull Choàin (Temple of S. Coan), and in the isle of Scalpay a Teampull Frangaig (Temple of S. Francis). Near the manse there is an obelisk of granite, 10 ft. high, called Clach na h-Annait (stone of Annat, a mythological goddess), and near it a well called Tobar na h-Annait (Annat's fountain), and Tobars Ashig and Chliamen (Clement). Kilchrist, evidently Cella Christi, is a kirkyard consecrated to CHRIST. There are ruins of seven Danish forts or deens, built without mortar and in sight of each other, so that alarm could be raised by the Crois-tàraidh (fiery cross). A number of tumuli are to be seen with stone coffins containing urns full of ashes or copper coins. Near Broadford a cairn or barrow has in it an arched vault with concave roof covered with a flag.

After the decimating struggle of 1745-6 the population, according to the census of 1755, was only *943* souls; in 1790 it had risen to *1579*, and in 1801 to *1748*, viz., 827 males and 921 females, of whom 1563 were employed in agriculture, 38 in trade and 147 are described as "other" persons. In 1811, it had risen to *2,107*; it 1821 to *2,619*; in 1831 to *2,962*; and in 1837 to *3,450*. In 1851 however, owing we suspect to game-laws and deer-forests, the population sank to *3,243*, and except in 1881 it has since steadily decreased.

We append the exact particulars of the last five censuses :—

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| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1851 | Skye | .. Males | 1477 | Females | 1673 | |
| | Scalpay | .. „ | 37 | „ | 42 | |
| | Pabbay | .. „ | 7 | „ | 7 | |
| | Entire Parish | | 1521 | | 1722 | Total 3243 |
| 1861 | Skye | .. Males | 1185 | Females | 1400 | |
| | Scalpay | .. „ | 33 | „ | 37 | |
| | Pabbay | .. „ | 4 | „ | 2 | |
| | Entire Parish | | 1222 | | 1439 | |
| 1871 | Skye | .. Males | 1163 | Females | 1337 | |
| | Scalpay | .. „ | 21 | „ | 27 | |
| | Pabbay | .. „ | 3 | „ | 3 | |
| | Entire Parish | | 1187 | | 1367 | Total 2554 |
| 1881 | Skye | .. Males | 1286 | Females | 1330 | |
| | Scalpay | .. „ | 13 | „ | 24 | |
| | Pabbay | .. „ | 6 | „ | 4 | |
| | Entire Parish | | 1305 | | 1358 | Total 2663 |
| 1891 | Skye | .. Males | 1179 | Females | 1220 | |
| | Scalpay | .. „ | 21 | „ | 28 | |
| | Pabbay | .. „ | 5 | „ | 2 | |
| | Entire Parish | | 1205 | | 1250 | Total 2455 |

The language is Gaelic though even in 1847 it was much corrupted with English words. The habits of the people are described as dirty, cattle and poultry living under the same roof with the inhabitants. They wear home-made wool and are expert dyers. Potatoes, herrings, meal and milk are the staple food. Their character is described as being sober, correct, charitable, hospitable, obedient and respectful; and their longevity is remarkable.

As to industry; out of 70,768 acres, 2100 were arable, 594 woodland and the rest green and hill pasture. Oats and beans thrive, while wheat fails; potatoes are planted in April and May, and yield ten returns. Turnips and clover are also grown. The rent of arable land was 10s. per acre; cow-grazing £2 10s. per annum; sheep-grazing 2s. 6d. The sheep are mostly cheviots while the black cattle are splendid. There are quarries for free-stone and marble, and there are lime-kilns. The Fisheries, of course, are a great source of profit. Peat is universally used for fuel, but unworked coal exists at Strathaird.

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# CHAPTER II.

## EARLY HISTORY.

* "A summons these of war and wrath
To the brave Clans of Sleat and Strath—
And, ready at the sight,
Each warrior to his weapon sprung,
And targe upon his shoulder flung,
Impatient for the fight.
MacKinnon's Chief, in warefare grey,
Had charge to muster their array,
And guide their barks to Brodick Bay."

*Scott.—"Lord of the Isles," Cant. IV.*

When Ailpein, the 68th traditional but 28th authentic King of Scotland, was slain A.D. 834 in battle near Dundee by Brudus King of the Picts from whom Ailpein had wrested the Pictish sceptre, he left three sons, the youngest of whom was Prince Gregor, who did not succeed his brothers to the throne. Prince Gregor's eldest son Doungallus married Spontana daughter of a King of Ireland, and his second son was Findanus who circa A.D. 880-900 was seized of the estates of Tobermory in the Isle of Mull, at first the principal seat of the Clan Fingon, who sprang from him. He also occupied Findanus Castle, in the Isle of Skye, which is known by the name of MacKinnon Castle at the present day. It was not till early in the 14th century that the Lairds of MacKinnon acquired Strathardill in Skye, which thenceforth became their principal seat and remained so till its compulsory sale after the disastrous events of the '45 in 1765, having thus been in the possession of successive Chiefs for upwards of 400 years.

We may here remark that there are six other Clans who trace from King Ailpein, and who came into existence, migrated and dispersed about the same period viz., A.D. 900, and their claim to the distinction of being the noblest and most ancient of the Highland Clans has been acquiesced in by the other Clans. Their proud old motto "S'rioghail mo dhream" (my race is royal) was acknowledged by all, and survived the successive ages of independent Scottish history from the beginning to the end. It is indeed a pity

*Referring to the gathering of the Clans round Bruce in A.D. 1307.

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that the distinctive family mottos which now hold place should ever have been adopted to the abandonment of that to which they all had a right, and which might have bound them together even to the present day. These Clans are, besides the Mackinnons, Clan Gregor, MacNab, McAulay, MacPhie, Grant and MacQuarrie.

In proceeding to chronicle the few traditional events which have come down to us from those far-off times when the MacKinnons' history was centred in the Isle of Mull, I shall be compelled to give various versions which in some particulars appear to contradict each other; but it seems to me more interesting to make no attempt to weave them into one connected story, but simply to record them just as I have gathered them from time to time.

Let me begin with a story which has always gained credence among the inhabitants of the district and which appeared in the *Highland Messenger* in Gaelic so far back as 1820, and was then taken from the lips of a very old Highlander.

A large share of the lower part of Mull belonged to the MacKinnons of Mishinish, and the MacLeans, who held most of the Island, were very anxious to get hold of MacKinnon's share also; with this view they took advantage of MacKinnon's youth and absence from the Island, and also of the fact that MacDonald, of Sleat, to whom he was maternally related, was too old and infirm to help his youthful friend. Therefore the families of Duart and Lochbuy seized and divided MacKinnon's lands among their own friends, driving all MacKinnon's friends away. A short time afterwards MacKinnon made up his mind to regain his ancestors' soil, and to this end he set sail for Ireland to solicit aid from his friend the Earl of Antrim. The Earl received him with kindness, and on his return allowed 40 young gentlemen to accompany him. On his way to Skye he thought he would make a call in Mull to see how matters stood before proceeding to raise followers in the northern island. Landing at Bloody Bay (Camus-na-fola) on a very dark night, he ascended the cliff alone, and with difficulty, till he arrived at a small hut in a lonely glen (Glac-Naomhaig) a little above his own house at Earay, a short distance from Tobermory, where an old woman of his Clan lived. This old woman being shrewd and intelligent had the

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reputation of being a witch and through fear of her powers the MacLeans did not banish her with the rest of the Clan. Here he entered and opened up his mind, asking her advice in the matter. She enquired "How many men are with you?" "Only 40," he answered. "Enough," said she, "and if you take my advice you will be in possession of your own and fully avenged on MacLean long before to-morrow's sun will rise. Duart and Lochbuy are to-night in Ledaig House (Tigh-a-phuirt) without any suspicion or sentry, and their men after much jollification are lying drunk and asleep in their birlinns, and if your men are men, and if you are a son of your father, the whole business is easy to settle." He returned to his men and desired them to follow him to the woods, where he said "Let every man of you cut a fir caber for himself and snick off every knot and branch. Also choose for me a long straight caber but leave it with all its branches on." The men did so, when he asked them to follow him to Ledaig House which they surrounded, and each man struck his caber into the ground, MacKinnon planting his own opposite the front door. Then he entered the house and after hanging his bare sword above the door of the room in which Duart and Lochbuy were sleeping, he and his men left. In the morning when Lochbuy heard what had happened and saw his people troubled and amazed, he said, "I now see plainly how matters are. MacKinnon has been here last night, of whom this caber with its branches are an emblem, with his 40 men and his sword which is hanging there above the door, and this proves that had MacKinnon wished to take our lives his work was easy. We have found him an honest and valorous man—send for him, and let his lands be returned to him, and let peace be established between us." And so it was. In this way MacKinnon, with his cool consideration and nobleness of mind, gained what might have been impossible for him to obtain with his sword.

### HOW THE MACKINNONS LOST THEIR ESTATES OF GRIBUN AND INCHKENNETH.

MacKinnon being a minor was left to the care of his godfather MacLean of Brolas (latterly called Pennycross). MacLean was getting old and being desirous of having all his business put

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into order and being on the eve of starting for Edinburgh to consult his lawyers, he desired young MacKinnon to bring to him his titles and charters that he might get them recorded and re-ratified. The young man did accordingly but on hearing of MacLean's return he repaired to Brolas, and on nearing the house he saw a burning stick placed in a neuk at the doorside, from which he understood that there was some person in the house ill, and that strangers were not admitted; he lingered about the place the whole day but saw no person with whom he could converse or from whom he could ascertain what was wrong. Returning home for the night he appeared again at the house the next day, and this time was informed that his godfather was dead. Some days elapsed before he asked young MacLean for his papers, when the latter told him that he knew nothing at present concerning them, but of one thing he was sure, and that was that his father never had possession of them unless the MacKinnons owed him obligations of some kind, and that if they were now in his possession he would make the best use of them, and that was to hold the lands and papers, which threat he duly put into force.

The Mackinnons soon scattered—the eldest son taking a lease of Derrychaig, and the second of Dairiroch or Killiemore, which lease is still running though the family has been out of it for the last 100 years and more. One of the Dairiroch family, named Neil, fought for Prince James in 1715 and being severely wounded on the skull was laid up in a barn for some months before he recovered. News reached home that Neil Mòr was killed, and as he had no sons (only four daughters), MacLean of Pennycross or Brolas under the pretence that Neil owed him money, seized the whole of Neil's effects, and appointed a day of sale. A number of cattle were accordingly sold, but as the purchasers were making for home they were met by Neil Mòr, who knowing his own cattle began to drive them home. The people thinking that Neil's ghost had appeared, ran off. However, MacLean did not see him as a ghost, but saw that Neil was himself again, and he fled across Loch Sgredan. Neil died sometime afterwards, leaving his daughter and son-in-law in the farm. Neil's brother Angus left a large family of sons, from whom, I believe, Professor Donald MacKinnon of Edinburgh is descended.

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### HOW THE MACKINNONS, OF GRIBUN AND INCHKENNETH LOST THE ISLAND OF EORSA (HORSA) IN MULL.

The Island of Eorsa is situated in Loch-na-Ceal, on the west of Mull, where the Channel Squadron has sometimes anchored during their cruise round the west coast. This island is a small one and considered to be equal in value to one-fourth of a farm and being very fertile was good for grazing cattle.

A man named Campbell, the first of that name who gained anything like a footing in the island, was known by the soubriquet of Ian beag Mac Ian ic 'dhomhuile gan robh Coirichean Braige Ghlinn (little John, son of John, son of Donald who had the rights of Brae Glen). He married the widow of John Stewart of Knock. Stewart left one son, who was grandfather to John Stewart Achadsheanaig, for many years Sheriff for the western district of Argyle. This Campbell coveted Eorsa and devised the following plan to get possession of it. In those days a law existed that if stolen gear or cattle were found on any land the owner of that land was responsible for the theft unless he could produce the thief. Now Campbell being aware of this law, took seven heifers and placed them on the island. Word was sent everywhere announcing the loss of the heifers (stolen or strayed). At last they were found upon MacKinnon's Island. MacKinnon, on being tackled about the theft, disowned the island altogether; hence it became the property of the house of Argyle, and the Campbells for several generations held the island free of rent along with the Knock tack. An old branch of the Gribuns and Inchkenneths occupied a farm called Derrygruig till recent times.

There is a quaint old Mull saying which may be quoted here:—

The honest Crooks (or pot-hangers) of Mull were three.

1 Crook Erray—MacKinnon.
2 Crook Derrychuig—MacKinnon.
3 Crook Rohal—MacPhail.

### THE STORY OF MACKINNON'S CAVE.

Tradition says that the MacKinnons of Gribun were at feud with the MacLeans, and the Chief was in hiding in the Gribun Cave for a long time, but MacLean was informed of where he was, and some of MacKinnon's friends came to know that MacLean was going

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to the cave to take him next day and afterwards put him to death; so the night before, his friends got a boat and had him taken to Staffa where he remained in a cave in that island which is still called MacKinnon's Cave, on the south side opposite Fingal's Cave. Here he remained till he made his escape to Skye. Tradition also says that the MacKinnons and the MacLeans at the commencement of this feud encountered one another at a place called Doire Shuaig, near Gribun, and the MacKinnons were victorious until one of the MacKinnons a powerful man connected with the MacLeans by marriage, deserted his Clan, and all his friends followed suit. Consequently the MacKinnons were routed and the Chief made for this cave. The descendants of this deserter were for ever after, and are to this day, called Clann Sith Ruidh (Anglieè, "always running"), in Mull, and were despised by their brother Clansmen both in Mull and Skye.

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The MacKinnons were a powerful tribe in Mull from A.D. 900 the time of their migration thither until the rise of the Somerled dynasty in A.D. 1120. Latterly they were in great favour with Somerled's successors—the Lords of the Isles—and acted as governors of their castles and masters of their household, while the sept of MacInnes acted as hereditary bowmen to the MacKinnon. This dynasty which commenced on the abandonment of their conquests by the Norwegians to the King of Scotland, terminated with the forfeiture of the last MacDonald, Lord of the Isles, A.D. 1493. During this long period little can be gathered concerning the history of the MacKinnons, and many a bold enterprise was doubtless attributed to the ruling tribe which held sway over the lesser ones and would naturally chronicle their actions among their own. A few records however have been preserved, and of one of them our Clan is justly proud. The Clan MacKinnon fought under the great Bruce at the glorious Battle of Bannockburn, A.D. 1314. Before that decisive action was fought Robert Bruce had retired to the Island of Arran, where the MacKinnons at that time possessed some property, and it was here that he met with protection from his faithful vassals, numbers of whom (amongst them the MacKinnons) followed him in his wanderings and misfortunes. After Bannockburn he rewarded the Chief of MacKinnon with a new charter of

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lands in the Isle of Skye. At no period of their history did the MacKinnons possess more property than early in the 14th century. They held estates in Mull, Arran, Tiree, the shires of Perth and Ross and in the Isle of Skye, though their future chief seat in Skye—the country of Strath—came to them as we shall presently see, somewhat later.

In another event of this period we find the MacKinnons taking a considerable share. It would appear that on the death of John Lord of the Isles (circa 1350), MacKinnon, with what object it is impossible now to ascertain, stirred up John's second son, John Mòr, to rebel against his elder brother, apparently with a view to the Chiefship, and his faction was joined by the MacLeans and MacLeods. But Donald, the elder brother, was supported by so large a proportion of his tribe that he drove John Mòr and his party out of the Isles, pursuing him to Galloway and from thence to Ireland. The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy and received pardon, but MacKinnon was taken and hanged as being the instigator of the disturbance. Doubtless in consequence of MacKinnon's behaviour, we learn from an indenture between the Lord of the Isles and the Lord of Lorn, dated 1354 (temp. David II.), that the latter stipulates in surrendering the Islands of Mull and other lands to the former, that the keeping of the castles in Mull and the Castle of Kerneborg in the Treshinish Isles, is not to be given to any of the Clan Finnon. As however this was Lorne's and not MacDonald's proviso some have thought that it only had reference to the feuds between the MacKinnons and MacLeans. Anyhow, in 1390, we find the MacLeans had charters from Donald, Lord of the Isles, for the keeping of these very castles. This state of things does not seem to have been permanent for either in that very year or immediately afterwards we find from "The History of the Clan MacLean" and from another source which tells the story in a different way, that the then Chief of MacKinnon was already reinstated in the honours of the family as "Marshals to Makoneil, Lord of the Isles, in the tym of the greatnes of that hous."

The MacLean account is as follows:

It would appear that an ascendant influence had somehow or other been obtained by the MacLean (Lachlan Lubaneach) at the

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Court of the Lord of the Isles, which gave rise to a considerable deal of discontent among the other courtiers, the most inveterate of whom was the *Master of the Household, the Chief of MacKinnon*, who, on the occasion of a stag-hunt to which MacLean and his brother Eachuinn or Hector Reganeach of Lochbay had been invited, plotted with others to have them cut off. The brothers being apprised of the design, MacKinnon's intentions were frustrated. After the chase was over the Lord of the Isles embarked in his biorlinn for his Castle of Ardtornish in Morvern, but some little matters detained his *Master of the Household* (*MacKinnon*) behind him.

In the meantime MacLean and his brother mustered a few followers and determined on punishing MacKinnon for his contemplated treachery. They overtook him as he was entering his galley, and there despatched him and instantly disarming his party and manning his galley with their own men, followed in pursuit of MacDonald himself with whom they came up within a few miles of Ardtornish, captured his vessel and carried him prisoner to Icolumnkill, where they forced him sitting on a certain stone (called the Black Rock of Iona), held sacred in those days for purposes of the kind, to vow indemnity not only for the violence done to his own person, but also for the death of the MacKinnon.

The other version differs:

Lachlan of Duart and Eachuin of Lochbui, sons of MacGillemor (MacLean), came to live in Skye in the reign of Robert II., A.D. 1370-90, but the usual consequence of a stranger entering into the country of another Clan followed, and a bitter feud took place between them and the Chief of the MacKinnons, which led to one of the most daring actions which has ever been recorded of any Highland Chief. The Lord of the Isles had set out on some expedition to the main land in a single galley, or as some think, to return to his Castle of Ardtornis from hunting. He desired the MacLeans and MacKinnons to follow him, and the MacLeans resolved upon taking this opportunity of avenging many injuries which they had received from the MacKinnon, or as some suppose to curb the rising influence of the MacKinnons. They killed the Chief while in the act of mounting into his galley. Afraid of the vengeance of the Lord of the Isles for this deed of treachery they proceeded to follow up their act by one more daring, and accordingly set sail after him. No sooner had they

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overtaken his galley than they at once boarded it and succeeded in taking the MacDonald himself prisoner in the very centre of his islands, and within sight of many of his castles. Nor did they stop here, for Lachlan MacLean compelled him to give him his daughter Margaret, whose mother was Margaret, daughter of Robert II. of Scotland, in marriage.

Not many years later we find Lachlan MacFingon, *vir nobilis*, 19th Chief of his Clan, witnessing a Charter by Donald Lord of the Isles, to Hector MacLean of Dowart; dated 1st November, 1409. By this we may infer that all parties, for the present at least, had patched up their quarrels.

Thus end the scattered and meagre details which I have been able to gather with regard to the history of the Clan during their long sojourn in Mull, and it is now time to recount the deeds of our ancestors when the country of Strath, in Skye, became as it did their chief residence from the middle of the 14th to nearly the end of the 18th century.



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## CHAPTER III

### THE MACKINNONS FROM 1500 TO 1645.

"And mermaid's alabaster grot
Who bathes her limbs in sunless well,
Deep in Strathaird's enchanted cell."

. . . . . .

* "Then Ronald said—If true mine eye,
These are the savage wilds that lie
North of Strathnardill and Dunskye;
No human foot comes here."

*Scott.—"Lord of the Isles," Cant. III.*

TOWARDS the close of the 14th century, and therefore 100 years before the forfeiture of the last Lord of the Isles A.D. 1493, the Chief of MacKinnon, whose little Clan had doubtless become exhausted by constant struggles with the populous tribes of MacDonald and MacLean, had the good fortune to obtain possession of the magnificent property of Strath, in Skye, of which he and his descendants remained in undisturbed possession till they risked and lost their all in the Royal Stuart cause.

It came about thus:—

The heir of the Chief of the MacKinnons was sent from Mull to be fostered by Gillies, who then possessed Strath. This person had an only son and a nephew who, being on a hunting expedition to the islet of Pabbay, unfortunately quarrelled, and in the contest both were slain, when old Gillies being without heirs became attached to young MacKinnon and left him his patrimonial estates.

In the description of the Western Isles by Donald Monro, Dean of the Isles, dated 1594, it is recorded that the MacKinnon possessions in Skye were as follows:—"The Castill of Dunnakyne, perteining to M'Kynnoun; the Castill Dunringill, perteining to the said M'Kynnoun; the country of Straytsnardill, perteining to M'Kynnoun. At the shore of Skye aforesaid, lyes ane iyle callit Pabay, neyre ane myle in lenthe, full of woodes, guid for fishing and a main shelter for thieves and cut-throats. It perteins to M'Kynnoun."

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* "The Lord of the Isles" was written by Sir Walter Scott in 1814, but the subject suggested itself during his visit to the Hebrides in 1810, in company with W. A. MacKinnon, of MacKinnon.

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"The Island of Mulle also perteins partly to McKynnoun."

The inhabitants of Skye were formerly called Sgiathanaich (skia = a shield, or skian = a dirk, and neach = people), in evident allusion to the known warlike habits of these Islanders who had to protect a rich and fertile territory from the attacks of the outer Hebridians on one side, and the mainland tribes on the other. The islet of Scalpay is supposed by some to have been acquired through excambion by Lachlan the 19th Chief sacrificing more valuable lands in Mull for its possession, and that hence he was called Na Thiomlaidh (the Barterer), but in the absence of any direct proof of this it seems simpler to suppose that he inherited it with the rest of the Strath country which included the islets of Pabbay and Scalpay.

No record of the Clan doings after this is forthcoming until March 19th, 1503-4 (temp. James IV.), when we find the MacKinnon mentioned among other Chiefs in the Acts of Parliament to be written to, to act against Lachlan MacLean of Dowart and Ewin Allanson of Lochiel forfeited for treason.

The Earl of Huntly undertakes to forward MacKinnon's letters.

In 1515 (temp. James V.) we find that Neill MacKinnon of Mishnish (in Mull) was at the head of the Clan, and in 1517 he, in conjunction with MacLean of Dowart, petitioned the Regent and Council for free remission of all offences to themselves and their "part-takers." This remission was granted on 12th March, 1517. It was in the rebellion of Sir Donald MacDonald of Lochalsh that they had taken up arms.

From this time forth we find the MacKinnons and MacLeans fast friends, and acting together on frequent occasions, nor does there appear to have been ever again a rupture of this friendship.

The 23rd Chief, Eoghan Ruadh nan Cath, of Straghuordill, was summoned before Parliament and charged with rebellion by Acts dated 26th April, 1531, and 9th September, 1545 (temp. James V. and Mary). The summons was finally deserted 4th August, 1546.

On 22nd March, 1541, Eoghan received a remission for being with the MacDonalds of Slate (in Skye) and others at an attack



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upon the Castle of Ellandonan (MacKenzie's country); in the same remission are included Neill McEwin, M'Lauchlan, Donald M'Ewin, M'Lauchlan and Niell M'Ewin and M'Kerlich, who, from their names, seem to have been members of his Clan.

On 2nd August, 1542, the same Chief, upon his own resignation, received from the King a charter of the twenty merk lands of Meysnes (Mishnish), in Mull, and the twenty merk lands of Strathredole, in Skye, to be held in free tenantry and saisine, taken at the principal messuage of Strathredole, to suffice for the whole lands. The distinction is to himself and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, whom failing, to his nearest and lawful male heirs whomsoever; by which heirs female and assignees seem to be excluded.

This interesting document is entitled "Carta eugenii Mac-Fingone," and is preserved in the Record Office, Edinburgh, by which James V. restored the lands in Skye and Mull to the Chief Ewen who had forfeited them for treason.

The same Chief Eoghan is named as one of the Barons and Council of the Isles (17 in number), who proceeded on 5th August, 1545, to Knockfergus, in Ireland, with 4,000 men and 180 galleys to treat with Henry VIII. of England, under the direction of the Earl of Lennox whom they declared to be the true Regent and second person in the realm of Scotland, Mary Queen of Scots being then three years of age. The troops of the Islesmen are described to Henry by the Irish Privy Council as being "3,000 of them very tall men, clothed, for the most part, in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords and long bows, but with few guns; the other 1,000, tall maryners that rowed in the galleys."

Once more our famous warrior Chief appears on the pages of history when on 6th February, 1546, he, as one of the special friends of Hector MacLean of Dowart, receives a respite for 19 years for the treasonable assistance given by him to the Earl of Lennox and the English in 1545. Long before this period had elapsed, he had foreclosed the respite by paying the debt of nature, for in the history of the "MacLeans of the North" (Loch Ness), we find one Donald MacLean "in Dochgarroch," described as a juryman at Inverness in the service of Lachlan MacKinnon as heir to

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his father, the *deceased* Ewen (Eoghan) MacKinnon of MacKinnon. Dated A.D. 1557.

In that same year too we find Mary Queen of Scots granting to Lachlan McFingone, the son and heir of the *deceased* Ewin McFingone, the dues, &c., of "Meysnes" (Mishnish), in Mull, and of Strathardill, in Skye, which had been in her hands since Ewin's decease.

In 1561, the Monastery of S. Columba was suppressed, and Iona became Abbotless and a ruin. Henceforth we may suppose that the "pennie" land of Kilmorie (MacKinnon's country in Mull) was exempted from the penny rental which it had paid to the "Abbacie of Ecolm kill."

This event was of course the outcome of the Reformation, which was very slow indeed in making its way in the Highlands. In fact to this day several islands, such as Barra, remain Roman Catholic, as well as parts of Western Inverness. Thus were the Islanders the readier to embrace the Stuart cause.

On 7th December, 1562, we find Donald McKynnyne, Neil Achwayne McKynnyne, and John Dhu McKynnyne included in a remission to the MacDonalds of Slate and their friends, for devastation committed in the Isles of Mull, Tiree, and Coll.

On 16th March, 1575, Donald M'Kynnin of Ostage witnessed an obligation of James MacDonald of Castell Cames, to the Bishop of the Isles.

Three years later an Order from the Privy Council was sent to MacKinnon of Strathordell and MacLean of Dowart forbidding them to assist Colin 6th Earl of Argyle in a contemplated expedition against the Laird of Glengarry. These decided measures seemed to have checked the Earl's proceedings.

Next year, on 28th March, we find Fynnoun MacKinnon (Lachlan Dhu), and Lachlan Oig, his son and "appeared aire,' complained upon, together with Lochbuy and a number of MacLeans by John Bishop of the Isles, for molestations and impediments offered to him in "uplifting" the rents of his Bishoprick.

On 11th November, 1586, John MacKinnand (sic), of Loch Slapin, is mentioned with many other Highlanders in a complaint against them for making the south country fishermen pay heavy exactions.

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In the following year, on 16th April, Lachlane and Neill, sons to Lachlane McKynnoun of Strathardill, are mentioned in the records of the Privy Council, and in the same year, M'Kynnoun of Strathodell, appears in the roll of Clan Chiefs, in whose borders "broken" men resided. Elsewhere, this Chief (the 25th in succession) is described as of Strathwardill in Skye, and of Mishnish in Mull, Chief of his ancient tribe. It must have been about this period, though the date is uncertain, that this Chief lost his second son, John Og, who was killed in the sanguinary conflict which took place at Culivi or Coolin between the MacLeods and Mac Donalds.

Troublous times were these! but it seems that henceforth they were to become more and more troublous, for in 1587 there commenced one of the greatest feuds that ever raged between Highland Clans. The combatants were the MacLeans and the MacDonalds. It is recorded that at length (through mediation) MacDonald, who had succeeded in taking MacLean prisoner, agreed on receiving a promise of pardon for his crimes, to set MacLean free, but eight hostages of rank had to be given, and among them were Lachlan and Neil, sons of Lachlan MacKinnon of Strathordell who had espoused the cause of the MacLean. The latter, regardless of the safety of his hostages, wasted MacDonald's lands during his absence in Ireland, whereon MacDonald retaliated but luckily not on the hostages who were ultimately demanded and forcibly taken by King James VI., to whom MacDonald who was by that time an outlaw had refused to deliver them.*

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*Skene quotes a curious description of Skye written about this period—probably intended for the use of James VI., who was then preparing to attempt the improvement of the Isles, and to increase the Royal revenue from them. "The Isle of Sky," says this document, "is ane ile forty mile lang and alsmukle of breid, swa that it is almaist round. It perteinit all haill in auld times to McConneil, but now be his disposition thair is divers heritors of sundrie pairts thereof. . . . Ane pairt of this Ile of Sky, callit Strathvardeill, pertenis to ane Laird callit McKynvin, given to him be McConneill for to be judge and decide all questionnis and debaitts that happenis to fall betwin pairties throu playing at cairtis, or dyce, or sic uther pastime, and will raise aucht score men. McKynvin has a castell thair callit Dewnakin." The same document records that "In Mule (Mull) the Laird of McKynvin hes 20 merkland, and with the Laird of Schellow (Coll), he can raise 100 men."

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The MacKinnon Chief had meanwhile not been behind his neighbours in lawlessness, for we find him on 20th March, 1589, receiving a remission with Dowart, Barra, Ardgour and McQuarrie for devastations committed in the Isles of Rum, Eig and Canna, but he appears to have been incapable of curbing his violent conduct, for on 16th December in the very next year he is charged to find caution for the good behaviour of himself and his Clan to the amount of £2,000 (a large sum in those days), in terms of an Act of Parliament. He must have been soon at it again, and again the Crown perhaps with a wisdom which we cannot appreciate without we calculate the almost limitless resources of the Highlander in his fastnesses at that period, gives a remission to the same Chief, MacLeod of Dunvegan, and others, for all slaughter committed against the MacDonalds of Kintyre and Isla, under date 22nd June, 1591.

In 1598 the old feud of 1587 breaks out once more. Sir James MacDonald (successor of the outlaw) encounters Sir Lachlan MacLean in a tremendous battle, fought on the fifth of August, at Lochgruinart, in which the MacLean, eighty of his kin and two hundred common soldiers are slain. Hector MacLean succeeds his father, and gets a "commission of fire and sword" against MacDonald, and invading Islay, accompanied by the Chief of MacKinnon and his Clan, meets MacDonald at a place called Bern Bige, defeats him and ravages the whole island.

Soon after this Lachlan Og the 25th Chief died, and was succeeded by his already mentioned son Lachlan, who on 8th January, 1601, entered into a bond of friendship with Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyle, and on 25th February, 1606, he appears before the Privy Council of the Realm, and obliges himself to appear personally before them whenever he shall be charged, upon sixty days warning, under the penalty of 10,000 merks.

We now come to the description of a curious bond, into which it was customary in disturbed times for Clansmen and friends to enter. This was called a bond of "Manrent," and was drawn up and signed for the sake of mutual assistance. The one in question was entered into between Lachlan MacKinnon, of Strathardill, and Finlay MacNab, of Bowaine, dated at Uir,

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12th July, 1606, and signed before John McDonnell reache Mac Kinnon, Ewan MacKinnon, and "uthers" thus "Lauchland mise" (myself) "MacFingon." Presumably the MacNab could not write and that his mark has not been noticed in the document. Five Mac Nabs are named as witnesses. It narrates that "happening to foregadder togadder with certain of the said Finlay's friends in their rooms in the Laird of Glenurchay's country, and the said Lachlan and Finlay having come of ane house, and being of ane surname and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lachlan and Finlay this long time bygone oversaw their awn duties till uders in the respect of the long distance and betwixt their dwelling-places, quhairfore baith the saids now and in all time coming are content to be bound and obleisit, with consent of their Kyn and friends, to do all sted, pleasure, assistance, and service that lies in them ilk ane to uthers; the said Finlay acknowledging the said Lachlan as ane Kynd Chieff, and of ane house; and likelike the said Lachlan to acknowledge the said Finlay MacNab, his friend, as his special kynsman and friend."

On 6th February, 1609, Lachlan is charged to appear before the Privy Council by virtue of his former obligation. That he arrived 40 days after the stipulated limit does not seem to have been treated as an offence, for when he did appear on the following 12th of May, he is only required to renew his obligation of personal appearance when charged, upon 60 days warning, while the penalty is reduced from ten to five thousand merks. In that same year MacKinnon, with other Chiefs, in response to a demand of the Privy Council, signed a bond declaring his religion. What that might be is not stated, but judging from subsequent events, it appears to have been that of the Reformed Kirk. At the end of July that year, the Bishop of the Isles, as Commissioner for James VI., went to Iona and there met all the chief men of the Isles, who submitted to him as the King's representative in the most unreserved manner. The Chiefs were 12 in number, viz., MacDonald of Dunyveg, Lauchlan MacKinnon of that Ilk, Gorne of Sleat, Vic Ian captain of Clan Ranald, MacLeod of Harris, MacLean of Duart, MacQuarrie of Ulva, MacPhie of Colonsay, MacLean of Coll, Lauchlan and Allan cousins of Duart, and MacLean of Lochbuy.

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It is curious to note here the strength of the Clans, there being no less than 5 representatives of the MacLeans, and 3 (Dunvegan, Sleat and Clanranald) of the MacDonalds.

The Bishop, taking advantage of the unanimity that prevailed held a Court at which the famous and important Statutes of Icolmkill were enacted. These were:—

I. The clergy to be properly obeyed and paid, churches to be re-built, sabbaths to be kept, Reformed Kirk discipline to be observed, and "Handfasting" to be abolished. The latter was a curious custom, surviving from very early times; it allowed the son of one Chief to live with the daughter of another for a year and a day without marriage, and if the lady should become a mother or prove to be *enceinte* within that period, it was held to be a marriage; but if otherwise, the contract might terminate and either party was at liberty to "handfast" with another.

II. Inns to be established for the convenience of labourers as well as travellers.

III. To reduce vagabondry, no man was to be suffered to reside in the Isles without sufficient income or following some trade; households of the Chiefs to be reduced and kept up at their own expense, not at that of the tenantry.

IV. "Sorning" or living at free quarters on the poor people to be punished as for theft.

V. To stop drunkenness, a man might only brew enough aqua vitæ for his own family, but the barons might purchase wine &c., in the South.

VI. Every gentleman or yeoman with 60 head of cattle was to send his eldest son, or failing sons, his eldest daughter to be educated at school in the Lowlands at his own expense, that they might learn to speak, read, and write English.

VII. The use of fire-arms was forbidden under any circumstances, the Islanders, owing to their "monstrous deadly feuds," having hitherto alone disobeyed the Act of Parliament passed in the present reign to this effect.

VIII. Bards and other idlers forbidden.

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On 24th August that year the Bishop took from the assembled Chiefs a very strict bond for the observance of these rules. The bond, in addition, contained a sort of confession of faith on the part of the subscribers, and an acknowledgment of the King's supreme authority in spiritual as well as temporal matters, according to his "most loveable act of supremacy." McKynnon on this same day witnesses, along with Ewin McKynnon, his father's brother, a bond of friendship between Donald Gorme of Sleat, and Rorry McLeod of Harris.

It is a fact which may appear startling to many but it is not the less evident on that account, that the first traces of that overflowing loyalty to the House of Stuart, for which the Highlanders have been so justly lauded, are to be found in that generation of their Chiefs, whose education was conducted on the high Church and State principles of the British Solomon. There is no room to doubt that the Chiefs who followed Montrose in the great Civil War were actuated by a very different spirit from their fathers; and it is well worthy of notice that this difference was produced in the course of a single generation by the operation of measures which first began to take effect after A.D. 1609.

Next year the King signified through the Privy Council, his approval of the action of the Bishop, and assembled the 6 principal out of the 12 Islanders in Edinburgh on 28th June to hear His Majesty's pleasure declared to them. These 6 were the MacDonald of Dunyveg, the MacKinnon of Strathordell, the MacDonald of Sleat (Gorme), Vic Ian MacDonald captain of Clanranald, the MacClean of Dowart, and the MacLeod of Harris, to whom was afterwards added for some reason that does not transpire, Cameron of Lochiel. They then gave large sureties for their re-appearance before the Council in May, 1611, and promised to live together in peace, love, and amitie, and to assist the Commissioners to quell disturbances. Particular feuds between Chiefs were composed then and there by their heartily embracing one another and "chopping" hands together in presence of the Council. On August 3rd, 1614, Sir Lachlan (he had received the honour of Knighthood in 1613) appears again before the Council, comes under several additional obligations and ratifies the proceedings at Icolmkill in 1609.

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The next year was an eventful one for him. On 26th April, 1615, Sir Lachlan MacKinnon is appointed one of the Commissioners of "fire and sword" against the MacDonalds, of Kintyre and Islay. Two months later he is appointed to concur with the MacLeans in keeping the country free from the incursions of the MacDonalds between the Row of Ardnamurchan and the March of Lorn. In the rebellion of Sir James MacDonald in the same year, the King gave orders that amongst others the Laird of MacKinnon should be provided with 200 men for the defence of his coasts, and on 6th October he is written to not to "rest" any of the fugitive MacDonalds.

Next year, on 11th July, Sir Lachlan appears again before the Council, and receives a license to shoot game within a mile of his own house. Fifteen days later in the same year the six representative Islanders, including Sir Lachlan, made their appearance before the Council, a formality which had been interrupted by the above rebellion. They were now required to bind themselves as sureties for each other:—

I. To appear before the Council every 10th of July.

II. To exhibit on these occasions a certain number of their principal kinsmen. MacKinnon to produce one; he chose his Uncle Ewin.

III. Gentlemen maintained in their households to be limited in number; MacKinnon being reduced to one.

IV. To free the country of "sorners."

V. None but the Chiefs to wear any weapon whatever.

VI. Each Chief to reside at a fixed place and to cultivate there. Those who had not convenient dwelling-houses were to build without delay, "civil or comelie" houses, or repair those that were decayed. They were to make "policie and planting" about their houses, and to take "mains" or home farms into their own hands, to the effect that they might thereby be "exercised and eschew idlers."

VII. At next Martinmas to let the remainder of their lands at a fixed rate.

VIII. No Chief to keep more than one birling or galley of 16 or 18 oars, and not to oppress the country people in their voyages through the isles.

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IX. To send all their children above nine years of age to school in the Lowlands.

X. The Chiefs not to use more than a certain proportion of wine—MacKinnon one tun per annum; their tenants and vassals to buy and drink none. On petition the Chief's immediate relatives might use firearms within a mile of their own houses.

The penalty for infraction of any of these rules was 5,000 merks.

MacKinnon became caution for MacLeod and Coll, and at the same time named the following members of his Clan as being disobedient and rebellious, and for whom he would not answer:—Donald reagh M've Tearligh, Eane McTarliche ve Coneill, Angus McConeill ve Neill, Donald McNeill gurme and John Roy McTarlighe.

On 24th August Sir Lachlan McKynnon, Knight, Sir Rorie McLeod of Dunvegan, Donald Captain of Clanranald and MacLean of Coll, entered into a mutual bond of Friendship at Glasgow.

On 17th July, 1617, Sir Lachlan and the rest appeared before the Council, when the practice of taking "calps" of vassalage (a sort of tithe) was abolished. At this appearance Sir Lachlan exhibited his uncle John, and next year he appeared again with the same uncle.

In 1619 Sir Lachlan exhibits before the Council Lachlan, son of Tearlach Skeanach his uncle, and in 1621 he appears with the same cousin.

In 1622 he brings his two cousins, Neill son of John and the aforementioned Lachlan, when with the rest he was bound to repair parish churches to the satisfaction of the Bishop of the Isles, and not to molest fishing traders in the isles.

In December of that year Neill McKynnon, student at Glasgow, has a gift of the life-rent escheat of Sir Lachlan, forfeited by his being a denounced rebel, and at the "horn" for not appearing to stand his trial for the alleged ravishing of Mary, sister to Sir Donald Gorme of Sleat, and spouse to Ronald McConneil of Castle Torrin in Uist, but as Sir Lachlan appeared personally before the Council on 23rd July, 1623, and no proceedings were then taken against him for the above alleged offences, it may be presumed that the charges were withdrawn. Moreover in 1626 a commis-

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sion was given to Sir Lachlan by the Lords of "Secret Council" to search for and take all Jesuits who might resort to his bounds. In that year we also find that Neill brother's son to Sir Lachlan, was laureated at the University of Glasgow, and in the following was appointed minister of Strath, when he "gave his grite and solemn oathe that he sall treulis, according to his knowledge, give up to the Clerk of Counsell the names of all the Papists whom he knew within the Ilis." Prior to 1641 this gentleman was translated to Sleat and was "confirmed" in 1661.

In 1627 Sir Lachlan grants a provision of some of his lands to Katherine, eldest daughter of Lachlan MacLean of Coll and spouse, or intended spouse, to his eldest son John. McNeill, Rector of Sleat, acted as Sir Lachlan's baillie in giving seizure to the lady. This conveyance was most specific and particular, and as it contains many quaint words, the following extract from it may prove interesting:—"The aforesaid Sir Lachlan MacFingon, of Strathordell, Knight, in life-rent for all the days of his life, and to the foresaid John MacKinnon, his eldest son and apparent heir, and the heirs male of his body to be lawfully pro-created; whom failing, to the foresaid McNeill MacFingon (rector of Kilmoir), his brother's son, and the heirs male of his body lawfully procreated; whom failing, to the nearest and lawful heirs males and successors of Sir Lachlan whatsoever bearing the name and arms of MacFingon, heritably, and of us and our successors in fee heritage and free barony for ever by all their just bounds, ancient and divided, as they lie in length and breadth, in houses, biggings, woods, plains, muirs, mosses, ways, paths, waters, stanks, streams, meadows, pastures and pasturages, mills, multures and their sequels, fowlings, huntings, fishings, peat-mosses, divots, coals, coal-heuchs, rabbits, rabbit-warrens, smithies, malt-kilns, brooms and plantings, woods, groves, shrubberies, fire-wood, beams, quarries, stone and lime with courts and their issues, herezelds, bludenites and merchets of women, with common pasture, and free entry and ish, with gallows, pit, sok, sall and thole, theme, wraik, wells, wort, wair and venison, in-fang theif and out-fang thief, pit and gallowes, &c., and with all and sundry freedoms, commodities, profits, easements, and their just pertinents, whatsoever, as well not named as named, under the ground as upon the ground,

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far and near, belonging, or that may in any way hereafter justly belong to the lands, barony, and other before written, freely quietly, fully, wholly, honourably, well, and in peace, without any impediment, revocation, contradiction or obstacle whatever."

We hear no more of Sir Lachlan MacKinnon after this, with the exception of the recorded fact that his country or estate of Strath was erected into a Barony by Charles I in his favour, on the fifteenth of January, 1628, and he appears to have died very shortly afterwards, though certainly not till after the end of that year, for in 1628 a contract is extant between Colin Earl of Seaforth, and Sir Lachlan for the preservation of deer and roe on their respective estates and the punishment of trespassers. It is signed "Seaforth" and "Lochslin."

Sir Lachlan was succeeded by his eldest son John Balbhan, *i.e.* the Dumb, who married a daughter of the MacClean of Coll. At the time of the marriage Lachlan Ruadh son of Tearlach Skeanach, styled in Douglas, "Tutor of Strathardill," and ancester of the Corry family, protested against the validity of the marriage on the ground that being dumb he could not take the marriage vow, and he threatened to dispute the succession with the issue of that marriage. John "the Dumby" did not long survive to enjoy the family honours, but according to the Mull tradition, and these traditions in the Highlands, especially in comparatively small islands, are not to be lightly esteemed, died a suspicious death before 1642, being killed by an arrow from Tor-na-Aithne, when on the summit of his castle at Dunara, the MacKinnon stronghold in Mishinish. He was buried at the foot of the Castle, and out of his grave a tree grew to the height of some feet, the leaves, bark and wood of which were blood-red in colour. The said tree was only cut down within the last 50 years by a man named Macinnes to make a spade-haft.

He left an only son Lachlan, afterwards called Mòr, whose life was sought after by his cousins in Skye, but the boy then about 13 years old found a protector in his great aunt Miss Jane MacKinnon of Dunnakin daughter of Sir Lachlan who on the strength of the bond of friendship with her father contracted in 1601, sent him for safety to Inveraray Castle, where he lived under the protection of Archibald, 8th Earl and 1st Marquis of Argyle, who commanded the Covenanters when defeated by Montrose at Inverlochy in 1645, and at

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Kilsyth in the same year, but who for all that placed the crown on the head of Charles II. at Scone on New Year's Day, 1651. Young Lachlan Mòr attained his majority in 1649, and leaving his protector, went to Skye on the invitation of his cousins Lachlan and Charles, sons of Lachlan Ruadh, who seem to have inherited their father's aspiring disposition to be Chief of the Clan, for late one night when they thought his attendant had gone to bed, these two brothers made an attempt on the young Chief's life, but the faithful servant suspecting some foul play, instead of going to bed, watched at the window of the room where his master was, and hearing a noise within, rushed to the door which was locked, but bursting it open, found to his horror that his master was standing on the table in his night shirt with his sword drawn and the two brothers below ready with their swords to despatch him. It is further said, though there seems to be a chronological difficulty here, that Lachlan Mòr had a brother John the younger who had a son Neill, who was sent by his aunt Miss Jane to Glasgow, where he was educated as an episcopal clergyman, and coming home lived in Bororag in the parish of Strath, the first episcopal minister who ever came to Skye. He was married and had 5 sons, from one of whom is descended the Kyle family. Mr. Neill was wont to preach in the Highland garb, and from the distracted state of the times never went to the pulpit without being fully armed. When a child Neill's life was in danger, and he was sent by Miss Jane to be nursed in the now well-known cave of Strathaird, from which event it takes its name of Slochk Atrumen or the nursing cave. I think that the above-mentioned John the younger must have been John Og, *brother* to Sir Lachlan.

As we know that Lachlan Mòr was at Inveraray a minor till 1649, which is further evidenced by a writ under the Great Seal in 1642, appointing John McClean of Coll as his "Tutor Dative," and by a petition to the Committee of Estates in 1648 when he is still described a minor "of that Ilk;" the Clan were left to act for themselves for a while, and since we are now on the eve of the stirring times in which they took so prominent a part we will describe their deeds in the great Revolution, and the subsequent Stuart Risings in separate chapters.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE MACKINNONS FROM 1645 TO THE ACCESSION OF IAN DUBH.

THE great Rebellion had now broken out in England and as was to be expected its influence was soon felt in Scotland. The MacKinnons, though without a leader, their Chief being still a minor under the protection of Argyle, lost no time in declaring for the Crown, and joined the standard of Montrose; under him they fought in the desperate battle and victory of Inverlochy, 2nd February, 1645, and at the victory of Auldearn, 5th May, in the same year. Concerning the latter field, a curious incident has been preserved. A Highland eye witness narrates: at a critical moment a hero named Ranald, the son of Donald, the son of Angus MacKinnon, in Mull, was keeping the pikemen at bay with his shield on his left arm, and his gun in his other hand presented at them. Some bowmen ran past him, letting fly their arrows with deadly effect among the Gordon soldiers, and one of these archers, who on looking over his shoulder saw the pikemen kept at bay by Ranald, suddenly turned his hand and shot him in the face, the arrow penetrating one cheek and appearing out at the other. Ranald's dirk was lost, and his bow useless; so throwing away his gun and stretching out his shield to save himself from the pikes, the warlike Islander attempted to draw his sword, but it would not come; he tried it again and the cross-hilt twisted about; a third time he made the attempt, using his shield-hand to hold the sheath, and succeeded, but at the expense of five pike wounds in his breast. In this state he reached the entrance to the garden (broken ground consisting of enclosures, rocks and brushwood, in front of the village of Auldearn, consigned to the charge of the gallant Alaister MacDonald, with 100 of his own Clan, and the MacKinnons; the rest of his command consisting of 300 half-hearted Gordons—it was to this little band Montrose entrusted the defence of the Royal Standard, which he usually carried before himself), closely followed by the enemy's pikemen. As the first of the latter bowed his head under the gate in pursuit, MacDonald (commonly called

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young Colkitto), who had been watching his opportunity, with one sweep of his claymore struck it off, "which," says the chronicler, "hit upon Ranald's houghs—the head fell in the enclosure and the body in the door-way; Ranald lifted up the head, and looking behind him at the door saw his companion in arms, who cut away the arrow that stuck in his cheek and restored him his speech."

This phase of the war ended, the Highlanders returned to their homes.

The Young Chief, Lachlan Mòr, who four years after these events had attained his majority, left Inveraray and married a daughter of the MacLean of Duart, which marriage led to an event in his life, the narration of which I would have gladly omitted. His father-in-law the MacLean, having quarrelled more seriously than usual with the Marquis of Argyle, induced young MacKinnon to join him in a descent upon the lands of his former benefactor, which he did, with 200 Clansmen at his back. The MacKinnon contingent, being easily recognised on their approach by their badge of Pine, were routed by the superior forces of the Campbells, and so incensed was Argyle with this act of ingratitude that he ordered his men to give no quarter to the MacKinnons, who, in the sanguinary rout that ensued, were nearly all killed or wounded, their Chief narrowly escaping with one or two faithful adherents. The slaughter on this occasion is said to have been felt for 100 years afterwards, and to account for the extreme smallness of the Clan, at the beginning of the present century, and I certainly think that there must be much truth in the remark.

We have now to turn to a far brighter incident in Lachlan Mòr's career.

The fate of the gallant but unfortunate Montrose did not induce the MacKinnons to forsake the Royal cause, for on searching the record Office at Edinburgh, I found an "Act of Leavie," by the Scottish Parliament, dated 23rd December, 1650, requiring "the L'mcIñen for his name and freindis to raise a regiment and to be Collonell thereof."

Accordingly we find Lachlan Mòr marching south with the newly-crowned King and his Scottish General, Leslie, evading Cromwell's army and reaching Worcester in safety. Here he



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fought in the disastrous battle that ensued with distinguished bravery. The only advantage gained by the Royalist troops on that fatal third of September, 1651, was the successful charge made by Charles himself at the head of his Highland Clans. The English Militia were driven back behind their guns, the latter captured, and had Leslie with the Scottish cavalry supported the movement by a vigorous charge, the day might have been won, for Cromwell at this juncture was separated by the Severn from one half of his army, and the rest were in such confusion that they would have been compelled to lay down their arms. Leslie however from some unexplained cause hung back, and Cromwell, restoring order among his troops, led them in a mass outnumbering their opponents by two, some say three to one upon the unsupported little band of Highlanders; these nevertheless contested every inch of ground as they retreated in good order towards the walls of the town. It was at this juncture that, according to tradition, the life of the King was saved by the Chief of Mackinnon, and in recognition of this service, Charles II. created him a Knight Banneret on the field of battle. The last *historical* record of a soldier being Knighted on the field of battle is that of John Smith, at Edgehill, in 1642; such being the case some have argued that this tradition concerning Lachlan Mòr's Knighthood cannot be true. But that the honour was never confirmed is natural enough both from the fact that the King became a fugitive from that very hour, and nine years afterwards, at the Restoration, it is notorious that he proved himself forgetful of, and ungrateful to, many of his early adherents, especially those in the North.

The fate of Lachlan Mòr after the battle is uncertain—some say he was taken prisoner—others that he escaped—all we know for certain is that he eventually reached his estates in Skye, for on 28th May, 1659 Lanchlane McKynnone of Stratharadill, gives a letter of Assedation to his loving cousin, Lanchlan McKynnon of Torren, of the 6 penny land of Torren and penny land of Kinloch Slapan, for the term of 19 years. This document is dated at Chorchetachane before these witnesses, McNeill McKynnone, Minister of Slate, Charles and William McKynnone.

The exhausted Clan—we wonder that there were any male

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Clansmen left—now had two generations to rest before commencing its final and glorious struggle, and till then the notices are few.

Under date 6th June, 1671, we come across another of those curious afore-mentioned Bonds of "Manrent," or friendship. This time it is between Lachlan Mòr and James MacGregor of that Ilk, "for the special love and amitie between these persons and condescending that they are descended lawfully fra twa breethern of auld descent." [Referring back, we presume, *eight hundred years* to the time when they respectively sprung from Doungallus and Findanus, grandsons of King Alpin,] "quhairfore, and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye, we to be bound and obleisit, like as be the tenor hereof, we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin friends and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all wha live or die, the King's Highness only excepted." Dated at Kilmorie and witnessed among others by Lauchlan and Charles MacKinnon of Gambell.

In 1680 Lachlan Mòr signs "an obligation" to Sir Donald McDonald of Slate dating it from Broadford on 17th June, and in 1688 he grants several "tacks" (farms), and in one of them mentions his second wife as Moir McLeod, present Lady MacFingonn. After this there is no further record of him. By his first wife, daughter of the Chief of MacLean, he had two sons, John Og, who died in his father's lifetime, and Donald (the date of whose birth was 1658), who in consequence of a *quarrel with his father in the hunting-field, quitted the paternal roof and settled in Antigua. John Daniel MacKinnon, writing from that island in 1802, gives the details of the affair. He says, "my great grandfather was one of the first Europeans who settled here. At a very early age, being on a hunting party in Skye, he unintentionally displeased his father the Chief of the Clan in the Western Islands of Scotland. His father, who was deaf, not hearing his apology, struck him a blow in the presence of many gentlemen, upon which he quitted

* A further fact in connection with this quarrel has recently come to my knowledge. Donald, after the quarrel, was ferried to the mainland by his two foster-brothers, but when the Chief heard of it, he was so incensed that he banished them both to the Island of Jura.



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his roof and never returned to it, nor for many years was it known what had become of him." As, however, the lineal descendant of this Donald became ultimately the Chief of the Clan, on the failure of the elder branch in 1808, we shall trace the history of the Antigua MacKinnons at considerable length later on and return now to the direct line.

By his second wife, daughter of the MacLeod of MacLeod, he had only one son, Ian, called "of Mishinish," who subsequently with his three sons emigrated to Nova Scotia, and to whom we shall have further occasion to refer. Lachlan Mòr's eldest son John Og married a daughter of MacDonald of Castleton and died the night his only son was born. This son, the famous Ian Dubh, succeeded his grandfather and played such a conspicuous part in both the Highland Risings of the next century, that his deeds deserve a chapter to themselves.

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## CHAPTER V.

### IAN DUBH TO THE FAILURE OF THE DIRECT LINE.

IAN DUBH was born in 1682 and thus was 33 years of age when he was summoned by the Lord Advocate in the Hanoverian interest, to appear at Edinburgh, on pain of a year's imprisonment, to give bail for his allegiance to George I. and his Government. This was too much for the young Chief who was warmly attached to the House of Stuart, and he immediately rushed to arms. The old Chevalier must have been well aware that he could count on Ian Dubh, for six years previous to this there is in the secret Stuart papers an account of the state of feeling and capability of each Clan. The table is interesting, and runs thus:—

The MacKinnons and 12 other Clans are described as "loyal," and able to bring to the field "very good men."

The Farquharsons "loyal."

The M'Intoshes and M'Phersons "at present loyal," but "very good men."

The Stuarts and Robertsons of Athol "loyal," but only "good men."

The MacKenzies "loyal" but "indifferent good men."

The Frasers only "loyally inclined," but "very good men."

The Sinclairs "esteemed loyal" and "indifferent good men."

The MacKays and Strathnaver people "may do good service" and "may make very good men."

The Rosses and Grants "may be brought into the field," but are "none of the best men."

The Campbells of Breadalbane "pretend to be very loyal" and are "only indifferent good men."

It is a satisfaction to add that the flower of the army, as had long been the case, were accounted to be that little body of Islanders, the MacDonalds, MacKinnons, MacLeans and MacNeills.

Again then was the MacKinnon loyalty to the House of Stuart to be put to the test, and again was this tribe found ready to shed the last drop of the blood of its sons in the good old cause.

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On the outbreak of hostilities, Ian Dubh gathered 150 of his Clan and joining MacKenzie Earl of Seaforth was in time to fight side by side with his neighbour MacDonald of Slate at the battle of Sheriffmuir on the 13th of November, 1715, an obstinate engagement which was claimed as a victory by the Jacobites. Subsequently the Highlanders marched to attack the Earl of Sutherland, who however declined an engagement and retired on Bonar where his force dispersed. Soon after this the Chevalier appeared among his adherents at Perth, but losing heart at seeing the paucity of their numbers he advised them to seek safety by retreating northwards in a body under General Gordon (which they did in excellent order), and fled himself to France which he reached in February 1716, and the Rising was at an end. Ian Dubh was attainted for his share in it, but is said to have received a pardon on the 4th of January, 1727. This latter information is rather doubtful, for after the first Rising of '15 his lands were purchased by the Laird of Grant, an ancient ally of the family, and like it, descended from the Alpinian stock. Grant conveyed them to Niell MacKinnon, who in his turn by consent of the attainted Chief, executed a disposition of them to John, then only son of Ian Dubh, and the heirs male of his body, etc., or any other sons, etc., whom failing, to John MacKinnon of Mishnish, the late Chief's only son by his second marriage. This deed was executed in 1728. John the younger died in the lifetime of his father without male issue, and in 1738 Mishnish, as heir of provision, took possession of the lands. He found them much burdened and himself greatly increased those burdens. But late in life the old attainted Chief married a second wife who bore him male issue, which dispossessed Mishnish. However, we must not anticipate events, but will return at once to the time when Prince Charles Edward, the young Chevalier, landed at Eriskay Isle on 18th July, 1745, and crossing to the mainland raised the royal standard at Glenfinnan on 19th of August, and commenced his gallant attempt to win the British Crown for his father. With unconquerable attachment to the Jacobite cause, the old Chief, Ian Dubh, though now in his 64th year, and probably still under attainder, rose at the summons of Prince Charlie, and joined him near Edinburgh with 120 men, which number was subsequently increased to 250, or even as some

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think to 300 men. Either figure bears an immense proportion to the total strength of this brave little Clan. Henderson, in the opposite camp, thus contemptuously describes the arrival of this contingent: "On October 13th arrived the old Laird of MacKinnon, with one hundred of his name, a poor indigent sett of people, only remarkable for a readiness to rebell." It was not long before Andrew Henderson and his companions found the demeanour of these men so "remarkable" that they were glad to quit the country in undignified haste.

The same author answers Charles Edwards' manifestoes in detail. To Charles' questions (October, 1745) "Who has the best claim to be independent on foreign powers?" He who with the aid of *his own subjects*, etc. he replies: "Who are his *subjects*?—The MacDonalds of Clan Ronald and Glencoe, the Camerons, MacGregors, MacKinnons, McCleans and MacNeills—people estranged by nature from the body of the nation, enemies of the best of the Scots kings, who were sometimes reduced to the expedients of sending some incendiaries to stir up such a division among them as that they engaged in pitched battles and fought almost to the extermination of each side A.D. 1355."

As it is not within the compass of these memoirs to give a detailed account of the progress of the Rising from beginning to end, but only to record facts more immediately concerning the Clan, I shall pass at once to the famous march into England, which commenced from Carlisle on November 20th, 1745. It is a curious fact that whilst nearly half the Highland Clans which rose were not represented at all in this expedition, of the rest scarcely any retained the numbers which they showed on the muster-roll before leaving Edinburgh. The reason of this was that many either refused to march so far from their native land or had gone to their homes to secure their plunder, a practice which in all time had robbed Highland armies of the fruits of their victories. There were, however, on this occasion two honourable exceptions, and only two—these were the MacDonalds of Glencoe and the MacKinnons of Strath. Each of these showed an *increase* of twenty men when the march from Carlisle to Derby commenced. This fact redounds greatly to their credit and has not been noticed by any author to my knowledge, but it certainly

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evinces in no small degree their devoted attachment to the cause.

We will here enumerate the Highland Clans which joined the Prince in Scotland. They were *twenty-two* in number, *viz.*, MacDonalds of Clan Ranald, Glengarry, Keppoch and Glencoe, MacLeod of Raasay *only*, MacNeill, MacKinnon, MacLean, MacDougall of Lorn, Stuart of Appin, Cameron, Grants of Glenmoriston and Strathspey, Fraser, Chisholm, MacIntosh, MacPherson, MacGregor, Robertson of Struan, MacKenzie, MacKay and Ross.

Of these there only accompanied him into England *ten*, *viz.*, the four branches of MacDonald, Stuart of Appin, MacKinnon, Cameron, Grant of Glenmoriston, MacPherson, and Robertson of Struan. The Chief of MacLauchlan had joined the expedition in England, but was sent back with orders to Lord Strathallan, who commanded for the Prince in Scotland, to hasten forward with all his available force which however he failed to do. The famous march to Derby and back, the victory over the English at Falkirk under Hawley, on 17th January, 1746, and the rout of Loudun and his Scoto-English forces at Moy on the 16th of the next month are matters of history.*

Just two months later Lord George Murray assembled the principal officers of the army, amongst whom is mentioned the Chief of MacKinnon, at Tain on the 15th April, in the presence of the Prince, and decided upon those operations which terminated next day on the fatal field of Culloden. On the morning of the battle the troops were drawn up, after a long and exhausting night's march to Nairn and back when they failed to surprise the Duke of Cumberland; in the following order:—On the right MacLachlans, Camerons, Stuarts of Appin and Grandtully, Frasers, MacIntoshes, Chisholms and Athol men. In the centre the Farquharsons, Gordons of Glenbucket, MacKinnons, MacLeans, and MacLeods of Raasay. On the left the MacDonalds of ClanRonald, Keppoch and Glengarry. These with four guns in the centre formed the first line. Gordons,

*The Earl of Loudun was pursued into Sutherlandshire and his force broken up and dispersed by a select body of Clansmen under the Duke of Perth, *viz.*, the Mackenzies, MacIntoshes, "the small regiment of MacKinnons" and the MacGregors.

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Ogilvies and Drummonds chiefly composed the second. Allowing for numerous desertions of starving soldiers in quest of food, the force cannot be estimated at 6,000 men. The English were nearly, if not quite, double that number. The battle began with a cannonade on both sides greatly to the disadvantage of the Highlanders so that Lord George Murray ordered the right and centre Clans to charge. With one loud shout they rushed furiously forward, broad sword in hand, and were received by a rolling fire of cannon and grape, but so resistless was their onset that they broke through Monro's and Barrel's regiments of the first line and captured two cannon. But Cumberland, foreseeing the chance of this event had carefully strengthened and stationed his second line, and these being drawn up three deep reserved their fire till the Highlanders were close upon them, then poured in so well-sustained and destructive a volley as completely to disorder them. Before they could recover the English troops improved their advantage, and driving the Clans together till they became one mingled mass, turned them from being assailants into fugitives.

"Yet let it not be deemed" says Lord Mahon "that even thus their courage failed. Not by their forefathers at Bannockburn—not by themselves at Preston or at Falkirk—not in after years when discipline had raised and refined the valour of their sons—not on the shores of the Nile—not on that other field of victory where their gallant Chief, with a prophetic shroud (it is their own superstition) high upon his breast, addressed to them only these three words, Highlanders, remember Egypt!" [Moore to the Black Watch at Corunna]—"not in those hours of triumph and of glory was displayed a more firm and resolute bravery than now in the defeat of Culloden. The right and centre had done all that human strength or human spirit could do. They had yielded only to necessity and to numbers—and like the captive monarch at Pavia might boast that everything was lost but their honour." Over the behaviour of the left let us draw a veil. Before the battle they thought they ought to have been placed on what they conceived to be the post of honour, *viz.*, the right of the line. They allowed jealousy full sway—and in spite of the gallant conduct of their Chiefs refused to charge. It was a fatal defection.

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Murray of Broughton records that the MacKinnons formed part of that small force first under Lord Cromarty then under the Duke of Perth which defeated Loudun, pursued him into Sutherlandshire and compelled him to disband his army. But since this latter event only took place the day before Culloden it had no influence on the result of the campaign. The rest of the force consisted of the MacPhersons and some Frasers. As however we know that some of the Frasers were at Culloden, the apparent discrepancy may be reconciled by supposing that part of the MacKinnons and Frasers were detached while the rest remained with the main body. After the battle some 1,200 men amongst whom were the MacKinnons, directed by the talent and animated by the spirit of Lord George Murray, retreated in fair order to Ruthven, and there were even some prospects of rallying an army in those wilds of Badenoch, but a message was received from Prince Charles thanking the gentlemen present for their zeal, yet urging them to do only what each might think best for his own safety and they accordingly dispersed. Even after this Lochiel and Cluny conceived a plan for rallying a few Clans in the following month of May. MacKinnon with one or two other Chiefs promised to assemble the remnants of his Clan on the 15th at Auchnichrry in the braes of Lochaber, but subsequent events showed the futility of such a proceeding and thus was the Rising finally extinguished.*

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*In the rare and curious paper entitled "Account of charge and discharge by Mr. Murray of Broughton, respecting sums of the Prince's money in his possession after the battle of Culloden," we find the following discharges :—

"2. At a meeting at a place called Callich, upon the side of Locharkik (about 10 days after the battle), where it was proposed to raise a body of men to continue the war. To enable the several commanders to make their compliments there was distributed among them 600 lowis, valued as guineas. . . £630."

This sum was paid in the presence of Lord Lovit, Lochiel, Clanronald younger, M'Leod younger of Neuck, Dr. Cameron, M'Donald nephew to Cappoch, MacKinnon, Barisdale, Lochgary, Glenbucket, Major Kennedy and Capt. Alex. M'Nabb.

"3. To the Laird of M'Kinnan, the same day and place. . . £40."

"4. Sent by the said Laird to McLeod of Raza and M'Donald younger of Scotus being all that remained of the sum Mr. M. then had carried with him. . . £20."

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An anecdote of the Chief of MacKinnon which occurred just before Culloden is preserved in the Jacobite memoirs and may be inserted here.

In the narrative of Donald Macleod, a merchant captain who happened to be at Inverness taking in supplies for the Isle of Skye, it is related that the †Macleod of Macleod ran away on the approach of the Prince's army, ‡Lord Loudun and his men having previously done the same; but Donald returning into the town to fetch his horse was seized by the MacDonalds of Glencoe and about to be deprived of his broad sword when luckily for him the old Laird of MacKinnon came up and taking him by the hand asked very kindly about his welfare and assured the party that Donald was an "honest" man and that he would be bail for him upon which they allowed him to keep the claymore and to go along with MacKinnon.

We now come to the most interesting feature of the whole campaign—the wanderings of "Prince Charlie," as he was affectionately termed, for five months amidst the wilds of the Highlands, until he finally effected his escape to France. To the eternal credit of those faithful adherents to the Stuart cause, be it said, that although a reward of £30,000 was set upon the head of Charles Edward, and although his places of concealment were known to *hundreds* of poor peasants during the vicissitudes of his wanderings, not one was found base enough to betray the trust. The MacKinnons, I am proud to record, bore a prominent part in the arrangements for his escape as soon as he reached the borders of their country.

We will rapidly follow him through his wanderings till we come to that period in them which cannot fail to be remembered with pride and satisfaction by every true-hearted man who bears the name of MacKinnon.

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Note to 3.—This gentleman is still alive and Mr. M. is ready to believe is a person of veracity and will acknowledge it."

The Laid faithfully executed his trust for in a later discharge Mr. Murray says: "Sent to McLeod of Raza upon the receipt of a letter from him complaining that the former sum was too small. . . £40."

† Many of the Clan were "out" in '45 but the Chief supported the English.

‡ Loudun was a Campbell and that Clan espoused the Hanoverian cause.

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After Culloden, he crossed the river Nairn, rode to Fort Felie, met the chiefs at Murligan 2 miles from Loch Arkaig, thence to Gortuleg and Castlle Dounie (Lord Lovat's) thence to Invergarry (MacDonnell of Glengarry's), where he slept the night after the battle; thence to Glenpean (Donald Cameron's) thence to Newboll (Clanranald's), thence to Oban, thence to Glenbiasdale, thence to Benbecula Isle at Roonish Creek (Donald McLeod's), thence to Scalpa Isle (Donald Campbell's), thence to the Isle of Lewis at Loch Sheffort (Mrs. Mackenzie's of Kildun), thence to a desert Isle near the Harris, back to Benbecula, thence to the Isle of South Uist at Glencoradale, thence to Wia Islet, thence to Rossinish, thence to Aikersideallich, back to South Uist, thence to Kilbride in the Isle of Skye, thence to Kingsburgh (MacDonald's) in the same Isle, thence to Portree (Flora MacDonald was with him from South Uist to this point), thence to the Isle of Raasay (McLeod), thence to Scororbreck in Troternish in Skye, thence walking all night Malcolm McLeod took the Prince at his own request to Ellagol near Kilmaree in MacKinnon's country on the 2nd of July, 1746.

As day dawned they met two of the MacKinnon Clan who had been engaged in the Rising. These men immediately recognized their beloved Prince in spite of his disguise; and so affected were they at his wretched plight—in appearance so different from the gay and gallant Prince whom they had been accustomed to see at the head of a victorious and devoted army—that they lifted up their hands in astonishment and burst into tears. Malcolm cautioned them that any display of their grief might prove fatal to the Prince and swearing them to secrecy on his naked dirk after the Highland custom parted from them well satisfied that Charles had nothing to fear from their hands.

Malcolm now conducted the Prince to the house of his brother-in-law John MacKinnon, who had served as a Captain in the Highland Army. MacKinnon happened not to be at home but the travellers were warmly received by his wife, Charles being passed off as a certain Lewie Caw, the son of a surgeon in Crieff, who had been engaged in the Rising and was now known to be lying *perdu* among some relations in Skye. Mrs. MacKinnon expressed much concern at the condition of her brother Malcolm's

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companion and observed that she saw something very uncommon about "Lewie Caw."

"Poor man" she said "I pity him; at the same time my heart warms to a man of his appearance."

That night while Mrs. MacKinnon (who meanwhile had been taken into confidence) kept watch on the top of a neighbouring hill, Charles instead of resting was found by Malcolm on awaking, seated in the next room dandling and singing to Mrs. MacKinnon's infant with an old woman looking on. "Who knows' said Charles "but the little fellow may be a captain in my service yet?" "You mean" indignantly replied the old woman who was not in the secret "That *you* may possibly be a sergeant in *his* company!" The name of this child was Neill.

Both Malcolm and the Prince were anxious that the Chief of Mackinnon should not know the secret because 'though he be a mighty, honest, stout, good man' yet through his advanced age and the infirmities attending it, they thought he was not so well cut out for the difficulties of the Prince's present situation. Malcolm however soon yielded to the contrary opinion expressed by John MacKinnon who in the meantime had returned home; but the Prince ever suspicious of his best friends as he was ever confident in his worst, took a great deal of persuasion both from John and Malcolm before he would yield himself entirely to the old Chief who, Malcolm said, would be very careful of him and exceeding true and firm to his trust. And yet had that grand old Laird John Dubh joined Prince Charles Edward at a time when most of his neighbours in Skye were hanging back, marched with him into England, fought at the head of his Clan at Falkirk, and never left him till after the bloody field at Culloden where half his Clan was destroyed!

In the course of the day the old Chief was informed that the Prince had entered his country. At once he hastened to pay his respects but melted into tears when he beheld the condition of his beloved Prince. Checking himself however, he fell on his knees and would have embraced those of Charles who preventing him and gently raising the brave and venerable Laird, said "I must not see you remain a moment in a posture which I think may not only be dispensed with in my miserable circumstances,

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but more especially on account of that reverend age to which you have lived which no less commands the veneration of a young man than do your great abilities, experience and profound knowledge of the world command respect and submission to your advice."

MacKinnon now recommended Charles to proceed to the mainland under his guidance that very night as the militia scouts were especially active in his country of Strath and every moment was of importance. The Prince assented; a good sized wherry was obtained; and at 7 p.m. the fugitive accompanied by the old Chief, his lady and John MacKinnon went down to the sea-shore and dined in a cave off cold meat and wine before embarking. The Chief's wife of course remained behind, and having parted with Malcolm McLeod, after a stormy passage which lasted some 8 hours Charles and his companions landed at 4 a.m. near a place called Little Mallack on the south shore of Loch Nevis. But the change was not for the better. The militia were quartered in the immediate neighbourhood and it thus became most dangerous for the Prince and his friends to attempt to penetrate into the interior. For three days they remained at the spot where they had first landed with neither fire nor shelter and not daring to move. On the fourth day they entered their boat and coasted along the broken shores of Loch Nevis in the hope of finding some cave which would protect them from the inclemency of the weather. Steering round one of the petty promontories of the Loch they fouled a boat moored to a rock and the next moment saw five men standing on the shore whose bonnets marked with a red cross proclaimed them to belong to the militia. Charles was fortunately lying at the bottom of the boat taking rest with the plaid of MacKinnon thrown over him. This unexpected appearance of the enemy somewhat staggered the crew for although besides the Chief and John there were four stout rowers of the Clan, yet it would have been dangerous to land and attempt to overpower five well armed men who were likely to have comrades in the vicinity; and a hand-to-hand struggle might have been fatal to the Prince. They hesitated for a moment on their oars and were instantly perceived. "Where do you come from?" shouted the militia-men. "From Sleat" answered MacKinnon. "Row ashore" ordered the militia-men "for examination." "Pull for your lives!" cried John Mackinnon, and no

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sooner was the word given than the watermen settled down to their work and rowed rapidly along the Loch. But the militia-men were not to be thus cheated. Like lightning they leaped into the boat, and casting loose the painter were soon in full pursuit. Just before the race commenced John MacKinnon had to swear at the Prince and hold him between his knees for he was attempting to jump out of the boat. As he gave the word to row, John told his men at the same time to be ready to fire, but to take their signal from him. "And then my lads" said he "be sure to take aim, mark well and there is no fear. We will be able to manage these rogues if we come to engage them." The Prince here begged John not to take any life, but John replied, "If we are forced to come to blows, nobody must be allowed to get off to tell the news." The militia-men were fresh and moreover had two men less to carry than the MacKinnons; so for the first fifteen minutes the pursuit was keen and they perceptibly gained on the fugitives; but nothing daunted, the Clansmen bent bravely on their oars and their superior skill began at length to tell so that before another fifteen minutes had elapsed they had the satisfaction of finding themselves gradually then rapidly drawing away and as they came to a part of the Loch where the firs and underwood grew thick down to the water's edge they shot their boat into the covert and hid themselves from the foe.

Charles landed and ran up a hill whence he perceived the discomfited militia-men returning from their fruitless pursuit. While the party rested from their severe exertions John MacKinnon begged pardon of the Prince for forcing him to be still, the Prince replying "You did well; my reason for wanting to jump ashore was that I thought we were about to be captured and I would rather fight for my life than be taken prisoner." Across the Loch was a small Island to which the escaped crew after a few hours' repose now steered. Old Clanronald, Chief of that branch of the MacDonalds, happening to be in the neighbourhood, the Prince sent John to him with a request for aid but that Chieftain who was ruined, declined any further assistance. John, finding that Clanranald was not to be won either by argument or entreaty quitted him in a passion and returned to the Prince, mightily indignant at the failure of his mission. But Charles met him with a cheerful

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"Well, MacKinnon, there is no help for it, we must do the best we can for ourselves."

They now rowed back to little Mallack and resolved to try what success they would meet with at the hands of MacDonald of Morar whose house stood hard by the Loch of that name. Having landed they proceeded on foot towards this house but had to pass a ford; John who had secured a guide asked him to take the poor young man his sick servant (the Prince) across upon his back, as it was pretty deep. "The de'il be on the back he comes" said the guide, "or any fellow of a servant like him; but I'll take *you* on my back, sir, if you please and carry you safely through the ford." "No, no! by no means" said John, "if the lad must wade, I'll wade along with him and I'll help him lest any harm should happen to him." Then John MacKinnon took hold of the Prince's arm and they went through the ford together. This adventure pleased John very much as it served to conceal the Prince the more. Mrs. MacDonald of Morar was a sister of Cameron of Lochiel and received the illustrious fugitive most warmly, but Morar himself saying he would go in search of young Clanronald and enlist his services on behalf of the Prince, returned the next day cold and distant saying he could not find him and that he knew no one whom he could recommend to His Royal Highness. The Prince saw that he had been dissuaded by others from his purpose, but seeing also that a touching appeal was received with equal coldness, he cried "Almighty God, look down upon my circumstances and pity me for I am in a most melancholy situation: some of those who joined me at first and appeared to be my fast friends, now turn their backs upon me in my greatest need . . . . " Then turning round to John MacKinnon he stretched out his hand and said, "I hope, MacKinnon, you will not desert me too and leave me in the lurch?" The old Chief was standing by his kinsman and thought the words were addressed to him. "Never!" he cried, tears of indignation and devotion starting to his eyes—"Never will I leave your Royal Highness in the day of danger but will under God do all I can for you and go with you wherever you order me.' "Oh! no" replied Charles, "This is too much for one of your advanced years. I heartily thank you for your readiness to take care of

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me and I am well satisfied of your zeal for me and my cause; but one of your age cannot well hold out with the fatigues and dangers I must undergo: it was to your friend John here, a stout young man that I was addressing myself." "Well, then," readily responded John, "With the help of God, I will go through the wide world with your Royal Highness." Loyal as was the offer, it was not necessary to be accepted. Years afterwards when Charles had escaped to France and thence to Italy, he narrated this scene to the Pope who on hearing of the devotion of MacKinnon and his Clan to the Prince, exclaimed "If the Church failed to procure wine for the Eucharist, the Church could not find a purer substitute than the blood of MacKinnon."

Escorted by the MacKinnons, Charles now made his way towards Borrodaile the seat of Angus MacDonald. Here, as the aid of his two faithful friends was now superfluous and as it was unwise to accumulate in large numbers, the Prince bade them farewell and placed himself unreservedly in the hands of his new protector. This was on the 16th of July and on the very next day the news of the capture of both MacKinnons reached him so Donald Cameron of Glenpean removed him from Borradaile for greater security and took him to the braes of Glenmoriston and Strathglass a few miles further eastwards where the famous "seven men of Glenmoriston," Patrick Grant, John and Alexander McDonell, Alexander, Donald and Hugh Chisholm and Gregor McGregor preserved him in an inaccessible cave for three weeks till he joined Cameron of Lochiel and MacPherson of Cluny at the "Cage" on Mount Benalder in the wilds of Badenoch; and with them, young Clanranald, John Roy Stuart and other Chieftains and 107 common men he embarked in Loch Nanuagh on board a French man of war which with another vessel was sent expressly for his deliverance and setting sail reached Roscoff in Brittany on the 29th September.

The Chief of MacKinnon was, as we have seen, taken prisoner the day after parting with Charles. He was in the house of MacDonald of Morer. He was placed on board Captain Fergusson's ship and sent to England. A survivor of that horrible voyage narrates that on their way to Tilbury Fort the prisoners were most barbarously treated and that almost all those who were



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in the same ship with himself were once so sick that they could scarcely stretch out their hands to each other; but that the old Laird of MacKinnon one of their companions held out wonderfully though upwards of 65 years of age. He was only about 8 days in such a way that he needed one to help him up in the morning while others much younger and to all appearance stronger too were dying by pairs for at last there was a general sickness that raged among all the prisoners on board the different ships. For a year was the Chief a prisoner at Tilbury Fort and in the Tower of London. He was one among 80 principal Highlanders who had been attainted and were excepted from the Act of indemnity passed in June, 1747. On being tried for his life however at the close of that year he obtained a pardon in consideration of his advanced years and of the spirit of chivalry rather than of rebellion which he evinced and Sir Dudley Ryder, the Attorney-General, pronounced his release. As he was about to leave the Court the Judge called him back saying "Tell me, if Prince Charles were again in your power, what would you do?" The stout old Highlander replied with very marked emphasis, "I would do to the Prince as you have done this day to me—I would send him back to *his own* country."

Captain John MacKinnon was his companion throughout. He had been seized with two of his crew by the detestable Captain Fergusson who stripped one of the latter, tied him to a tree and lashed him till the blood gushed from both his sides. He even threatened John with similar treatment but nothing could extort a confession from these faithful men. Taken to England in the same ship with the Chief, he shared his imprisonment, with him was set at liberty and died in his native island of Skye on 11th May, 1762, at the age of 48. The remainder of the history of the gallant old John Dubh 29th of his name is soon told.

His first wife was Penelope daughter of James Sharpe Archbishop of St. Andrew's who was murdered in presence of his daughter in 1679, and their only son John died in the lifetime of his father leaving four daughters and no son. John Dubh married again in 1743 Miss MacLeod of Raasay but had no children till his return from captivity in the Tower, when a son, Charles, was born

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in 1753 another, Lachlan, who died in Jamaica unmarried and a daughter Margaret, all born after his 72nd year.

The birth of Charles cut out the Chief's uncle John of Mishinish who had been served heir male of provision, Donald elder half-brother to Mishinish having gone to Antigua and been lost sight of at that time altogether. Mishinish (John Dubh being under attainder) had however in the meantime (in 1751) disposed of a large proportion of the estates to John Mackenzie, had paid a debt of 30,000 merks to Florence, Helen and Penelope the Chiefs surviving grand daughters; Margaret's share (deceased) going to the other three, according to his bond of provision. Among the lands he parted with were Kyleakin, Assig, Pabbay Islet, Breckish, Sadamess, Corrychatachan, Terchirrie, Swordill, Kilbright, Kilbride, Sursnish, Borreraig, Kenstrich, Stroloness, Skinagg, Liverass, Torrin, Kinlochsligean, Kinlochnadale, Gambhoil, Harraboll, Neist and Broadford with its Change-house and Mill. He also paid a host of other debts. This sale to John Mackenzie, trustee for Sir John MacDonald a minor, could not be set aside, and there remained but a small territory in Skye and the lands in Mull.

At last the old Chief John Dubh died and the account of his death is thus recorded in a journal of the time. "May 7th, 1756—Died at his house of Kilmorie in the Isle of Skye, John MacKinnon of that Ilk in the 75th year of his age, leaving issue two sons and a daughter (Margaret) all born after the 71st year of his age. He used to say he hoped God would not take him off the earth but on the field of battle when fighting for his King and country. He frequently retired to the cave in which the Prince and he himself and his lady dined just before the Prince's leaving Skye in his skulking and there he would entertain himself with laying down a plan for the Restoration and with the execution thereof in theory and then come home extremely well pleased."

Strathaird in Skye and Mishnish in Mull were all that were left to pass into the hands of John McLeod of Raasay who as the maternal grandfather of the late Chief's infant sons was appointed by the Court of Session their Tutor Dative. Charles the elder when in 1774 he attained his majority found his affairs notwithstanding the efforts of his friends, in a desperate state. His half-nieces Penelope, Florence and Helen were with their respective



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husbands creditors to the amount of £26,000 and he had to sell Mishnish in Mull to pay his debts.

Finally he sold Strathaird the last remnant of that magnificent country which the Chiefs of MacKinnon had held in unbroken succession for a period of 450 years. The sale took place in 1791 and gave great offence to the Clansmen of the time who were anxious that it should at least be held by some branch of the family but Charles in coming to terms with MacAlister of Skirrinish opposed this, saying he was resolved that if it went out of his own family, no other of the name should ever possess it. Charles who had married a daughter of MacLeod of MacLeod left besides a daughter one son John the last of his line who succeeded to nothing but the Chiefship. The poor young man had to accept the menial office of a tide-waiter at Greenock custom-house or at Leith where he died unmarried in 1808 and the main line became extinct. The Rev. Donald MacKinnon Minister of Kilbride possessed a letter on important family business addressed to the Chief John in the above capacity. Mr. Lachlan MacKinnon of Corry of that date, stated that the deceased Chief was a highly cultivated man.

As for the estate of Strathaird the McAlisters of Skirrinish who hailed originally from Loup in Argyleshire, sold it in their turn to one Bowra or Bowers an Englishman from whom it was purchased by Sir William MacKinnon Baronet, of Balnakill. On his death, his heirs disposed of it to Mr. J. Laurie Thomson C.E. the present proprietor.

In subsequent chapters we shall follow the fortunes of Donald second son of Lachlan Mòr and his descendants into whose line the Chiefship now passed, but before doing so we shall interpolate a chapter dealing with the dress of the Clan, its connection with Iona and other matter for which a place cannot be conveniently found elsewhere.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### IONA. DRESS. CRESTS. VARIOUS.

SKENE in his "Celtic Scotland" remarks that the MacKinnons were always closely connected with the abbacy of Iona and *repeatedly* furnished Abbots to that monastery. Writing upon the true etymology of our name, Logan incidentally refers to the same fact. Claiming that "Son of Finan" variously written Fhinain, Finin, Finwyne, and Fingon is the only admissible one he continues: "Finan is one of the most ancient of the Celtic vernacular surnames. Kings of the Albanich bore the name in the dawn of our national history and no fewer than *five* Culdee priests of that name were contemporary with St. Colan or Columba, who flourished from A.D. 550 to 597," and gave the name to the island of Iona (I-Colm-Kill).

This too was the ancient burial place of the family and is thus described by Monro Dean of the Isles in 1596:—"In the far-famed Isle of Iona in the Reilig Orain (St. Oran's Chapel) within the sanctuary lye the maist part of the Lords of the Isles with their lynage; M'Kynnon and M'Quarie with their lynage, with sundry other inhabitants of the haill isles, because the sanctuary was wont to be the sepulture of the best men of the iles, and also of our Kinges."

Near the south end of this chapel is the tomb of an Abbot MacKinnons's father. It consists of a plain black stone—a block of micaceous schistus intermixed with horneblende and with an inscription in the old British character. On the wall above the tomb the Abbot erected one of these elaborately sculptured crosses still remaining in the island and inscribed upon it "Hæc est crux Lachlani Macfingone et ejus filii Johannis Abbatis de Hy [Iona], facta an. Dom. MCCCCLXXXXIX." Beneath it is engraved a lymphad or galley in connection, as some think, with the former occupation of the Island by the Norwegians, for the device was a favourite one among those people. Far more probably it was then as now, a portion of the Chief's coat-of-arms derived perhaps

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from the constant association of our Clan with a sea-faring life. The broken shaft alone remains of which I have given a sketch.

An amusing incident occurred to me when with my father I visited Iona Cathedral in 1867. We were guests on board a Government steam yacht (H.M.S. "Argus") during a tour of coastguard inspection undertaken by my uncle Commodore afterwards Admiral Sir Walter Tarleton. We had been rowed ashore in the Commodore's six-oared galley and were intently examining the huge remains of the broken cross, when the coxswain of the boat, a true type of the British tar, ready for anything, stepped forward and saluting said "I have six hands here, sir, and if you wish we can easily shoulder the shaft and put it aboard."

An interesting link in the chain which binds the MacKinnons to Iona is suggested to me in a correspondence I had some years since with a member of the Clan in the course of which he drew attention to an ancient branch the MacKinnons of InchKenneth who he said were sometimes called the "Abbots" [Gaelic "Aba"] from whom the MacNabs derive their descent being called Clan An-aba. Could there have been formed in their isle of InchKenneth so conveniently near Iona a kind of sacred college in remoter times from which many Culdee priests and some Priors and Abbots were furnished to S. Columba's sacred isle? That MacKinnon and MacNab were closely connected is evident from the bond of man-rent already referred to in a previous chapter—but further, in this bond, MacNab acknowledges MacFingon as "ane kynd *chieff* and *of ane house*," and the document asserts that they were of one *surname* and *lineage*. The pursuit of this theory must be left to Celtic experts and abler hands than mine but it should be remembered that MacNab's country was Glendochart whence Skene informs us that the MacKinnons emerged and this movement would have been at the time of the western migration of the *Island* Clans circ. A.D. 900.

To pass on; we must now describe one of the most perfect mediæval monuments that have been preserved anywhere in the Highlands of Scotland. It stands close to where the altar of Iona Cathedral was, on the north or cantoris side of the choir and is a tomb-stone of black marble quite entire on which is a very fine recumbent figure of an Abbot MacFingon, lifesize, in his sacred

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BROKEN SHAFT OF THE CROSS OF LACHLAN MACKINNON, JOHN THE ABBOT'S FATHER, A.D. 1489.

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robes with a crozier in one hand, and the other lifted up to his chin, elbowing two lions at the head and spurning two at the foot. The monument is supported by four pedestals one foot high; around the margin is the inscription: "Hic jacet Johannes MacFingone Abbas de Hy [Iona], qui obiit Anno Domini millesimo quingentessimo cujus animæ propitietur DEUS altissimus. Amem." The accompanying sketch will I hope give at least some idea of its wonderful state of preservation.

In connection with this Abbot two pieces of information are rescued from oblivion.

The first is from a very interesting document dated at Oronsay August 1st, 1492, and preserved in the charter-chest of Lochbuy where we find that this John MacKinnon Abbot of Y [Iona], as one of the Council of the Lord of the Isles affixed his seal to a charter by John, Lord of the Isles and Alexander de Insulis, Lord of Lochalsh his nephew, in favour of John M'Gilleon (McClean) Lord of Lochbuy. The seal of Abbot John is now so much obliterated that the device cannot be ascertained.

The second is from the inscription on a Cross in Tiree which runs as follows: + FINGONIUS : PRIOR : DE : Y : ME : DEDIT : PHILIPPO : JOHANNIS : ET : SUIS : FILIIS : A : D : MCCCCXCII. The gentleman who supplied me with a copy of the above is of opinion that this Prior Fingonius was grandfather to the Abbot John for he remarks that if Prior Fingonius was father of Lachlan McFingone and Abbot John the father of Philip, the said Prior must have been a very old gentleman in 1492 when he dedicated the sculptured stone to his great grandson Philip. "Suis filiis" he contends, must therefore refer not to Philip's sons but to Prior Fingon's own sons *i.e.*, to the brothers of Lachlan whose broken shaft we remember at Iona, and uncles of course of the Abbot unless, as he naively remarks, the people of old looked a long way before them in matters monumental.

Kilmaree Kirkyard contains a curious monument—a flat stone on which the following part inscription can still be traced: "Here lies an honest man called Hector McFingonn, who deseist the 15th July 1666. In this man's Ty-m he had no gyll but only to live

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with honesty." And for all I know there may be many more such but they have not come to hand.

In connection with Iona I must here describe a most interesting and highy chased silver chalice in the possession of the late Mrs. A. R. Young (née MacKinnon of Corrie) who inherited it from her father. It is known to have been buried in Iona during the troublous times of the Great Rebellion (temp. Oliver Cromwell). Inside are inscribed the letters S and MK. It has recently been submitted to an expert who gives the probable date as A.D. 1607 (James VI) and pronounces the chalice to be very valuable. This chalice, however, was once the property of Rev. John MacKinnon Minister of Strath who is believed by his surviving daughter Miss Flora D. MacKinnon of Duisdale to have received it from the XXXth Chief Charles who sold Strathaird in 1791, and she states for a fact that it belonged to John MacKinnon Abbot of Iona who died A.D. 1500.

I will conclude this part of our subject with the argument of James Hogg's* curious poem written about A.D. 1814, and entitled "The Abbot MacKinnon."

If this poom were founded on fact and indicated that Abbot the last but one of the long line which ended with the suppression of the Abbey in 1507 and whose tomb we have just been describing, the reverend and mitred Abbot would have required to be heard in his own defence.

The argument opens with a view of the embarkation of this worthy Abbot in his gorgeous galley manned by lay brothers in their cowls and dark garments, rushing out of the rocky bay on a secret expedition. The revelry that takes place among the inferior monks in the absence of their rigid head and the whisperings and sayings that are heard echoing in the dark amongst nuns and friars gliding in pairs through the dim portals and cloisters during the same period of license are described with something of a satirical animation. At last however the Abbot returns and brings with him a stranger youth in the full habit of the Order. Some smothered scandal and surmise are excited on account of the beautiful novice; but the authority of the Abbot hushes all

*"The Ettrick Shepherd" born 1772 died 1835.

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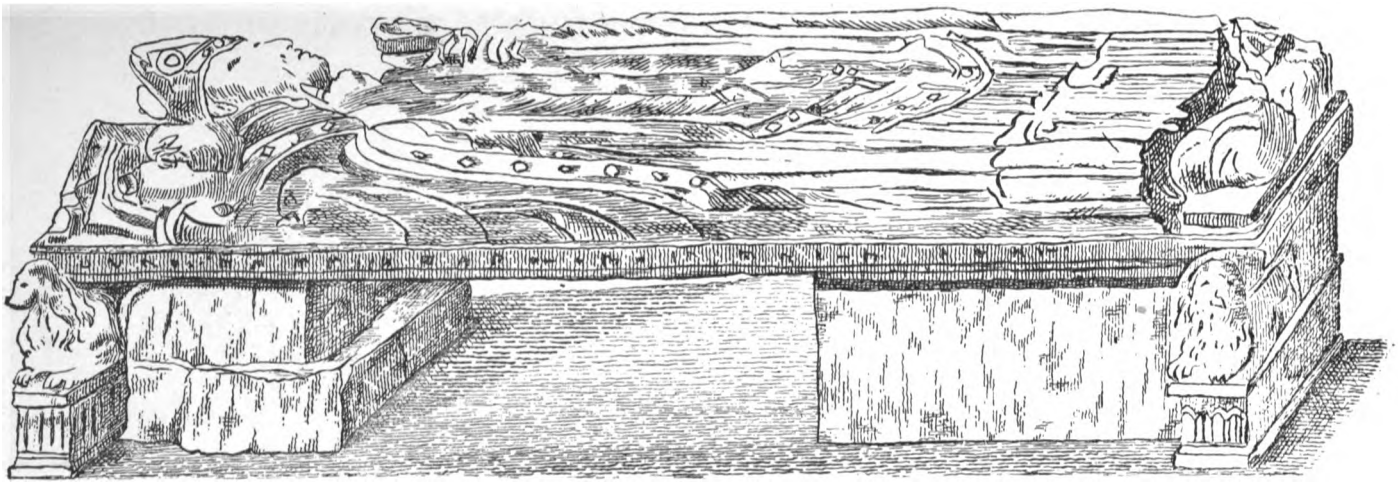

TOMB OF JOHN MACKINNON, ABBOT OF IONA, DIED A.D. 1500.

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murmurs and the months glide on in tranquillity until this saintly person is visited one morning in a dream by S. Columba himself who directs him to make an immediate pilgrimage to the neighbouring Isle of Staffa with an appointed company, and there to offer certain oblations to the unseen spirit of the ocean.

The Abbot notwithstanding the heathenish nature of the rite thus enjoined on him, feels himself compelled to obey and accordingly takes the appointed band with him and embarks with a heavy heart on this ill-omened expedition. The description of the voyage presents a very powerful and original sea-prospect. They arrive at last at the magical island, the singular aspect of which is poetically though not very clearly delineated. The hymn in which they invoke the spirit of the mighty deep is written with considerable force and solemnity. At the close of these oblations a hoarse and awful voice re-echoes from the cavern "Greater yet must the offering be!" At this dreadful response, the holy brotherhood gaze at each other in terror and descend sadly to their vessel. On their way Abbot MacFingon hears a sweet voice ascending with the dash of the waves from the foot of the precipice on whose ridge they are journeying and peeping over the giddy edge descries a beautiful mermaid sporting and singing among the lonely rocks of the shore. Heart-struck with this prophetic strain he rushes down in silence to the beach when he finds a venerable old man with a sad and placid countenance and a beard as white as snow sitting in the stern of their deserted galley. The mysterious personage makes no answer to their enquiries but turns a thoughtful and melancholy eye on their array as the vessel bounds again from that ill-fated shore. When the waters grow dim with the shades of evening he rises and slowly lifting up his hand to the sky exclaims with a sorrowful air "Now is the time" and instantly a sudden blaze of lightning envelopes the horizon and a roar louder than the mingling voices of ocean and air bursts at once on their senses in the midst of which the vessel with all its devoted crew vanishes for ever from the light."

So much for romantic tragedy. Now let romance be heightened by real tragedy in the following heriot scene which graphically describes the operation of the feudal system in the last century.

Until 1755 it was customary in Skye when a tenant died

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for the best horse in the possession of the widow to be claimed by the Laird who sent his ground-officer or under-factor to demand it immediately after the interment. About that year a MacKinnon having died the best horse was claimed as usual but the poor widow resisted so much that the factor beat and bruised her till she bled when she expressed a hope that her son then one year old would revenge her some day. Seventeen years afterwards the same officer behaved with similar insolence to another widow. But young MacKinnon then considered the strongest man in the parish heard of it and overtaking the factor within 3 miles of the Laird's house reminded him of his mother's treatment and demanded back the widow's horse. The factor refusing, battle was offered, accepted and soon decided in favour of MacKinnon who with his dirk cut off his antagonist's head, washed it in a well (Tobar A'chinn, or well of the head) mounted the horse and appeared before the Lairds' gate with the head on the point of his dirk. The Laird upon hearing Donnuchadh Mor's (Big Duncan's) account as well as the story about his mother, granted him a free pardon and appointed him ground-officer, telling him at the same time that no widow upon his estate should ever again be deprived of any part of her property.

In the British Museum Library I came across a curious old pamphlet entitled "The trial in the High Court of Admiralty in Scotland, at the instance of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, H.M. Advocate, against Evan MacKinnon, Shoe-maker, of Inverness and others, 10th November 1735." This was an action for smuggling and assault on Custom Officers. MacKinnon and the others had broadswords which they said they laid aside; MacKinnon alone had a small pistol which had a spoilt lock and which he wore for ornament rather than service. It was said that MacKinnon a resolute fellow knocked down Mr. Townson the officer with the butt end of his pistol and seizing his blunderbuss flung it overboard. The Judge "assoilies" the said Evan MacKinnon and dismisses him from the bar, *whereupon he took instruments.*

Our friends of the Scotch legal persuasion will, I hope, excuse ignorance on the part of at least some of those who read this last sentence and allow us to believe that our sturdy disciple of St. Crispin gave a practical illustration to the Court of *nemo me impune lacessit.*

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We trust however for the honour of the Clan that he chose for his object Duncan Forbes rather than the merciful Judge!

Dress—The "Vestiarium Scoticum" is a black letter quarto of the 16th century once in the possession of the Bishop of Moray friend of Mary Queen of Scots. It eventually found its way into the possession of the priests of the Scots College at Douai who presented it between A.D. 1749 and 1753 to Prince Charles Edward from whom it descended into the hands of Charles Edward Stuart (Comte d'Albanie) who bequeathed it to the present Marquis of Bute. It is a most valuable work on the subject of the Scottish dress and consists of coloured illustrations of the whole of the Scottish Clan Tartans, with a short notice of each plaid. The tartan of Clan Kynnon is, like the rest, printed on vellum with the following letterpress:—"Clan Kynnon quhilk is of ye Clandonald" (the author is ignorant, remarks Comte d'Albanie, that MacKinnon's descent is from the Siol Alpine). "He hathe ae greene sett, and ae red sett quharoff the grein is of twa greit stryppis, and throuch ye mydward of ylk ither redd sett ane stryp quhite, and throuch ye ylk efter ane stryp blak and nae mair."

To go into further detail, the exact composition of the MacKinnon tartan is: two red, one ($\frac{1}{8}$ inch) black, one green, two red, one pink, two red, one green, one black, five red, eleven green, one red, two black, one green, eleven red, four green, one pink, two red, one white, two red, one pink, four green, eleven red, one green, two black, one red, eleven green, five red, one black, one green, two red, one pink, two red, one green, one black, two red. This means both warp and weft.

Clan Fingon has also a hunting tartan of a dark ground (mixed dark brown) with small red and white stripes. The composition being white 8 threads, brown 76, green 70, red 8, green 70, brown 76, green 12, brown 76, green 70, red 8, green 70, brown 76. The rest of the dress consists of a Kilt (Feileadh Beag), Plaid (Breacan Feilidh), Sporran (sporan) of blackskin with 2 white tassels, Broad Bonnet (Bonaid) with 3 pinion feathers of the native eagle (Julair) for the Chief, 2 for a Chieftain, and one for an ordinary gentleman. The hose (osain) is of the Clan tartan and hand-knitted, the garters (gartain) are also hand-knitted and the brogues or shoes (Brogan) have silver-mounted buckles. A doublet or

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jacket (cotagur) is also worn with belts (criosain) and the ornament is the boar's head crest of the family. For weapons, the broadsword or claymore (claidhcaineh mor), the dirk (biodag), the dagger (sgiandubh), pistols (dagaichean), powder-horn (adharc Fhudair), and the target or shield (sgiaith).

McIan gives a few additional particulars—he says the jacket is made of dark cloth, plain black buttons, no collar on jacket, double cuffs bound with dark military braid. White or crimson vest with open front collar. White shirt with collar folding down over the jacket. Black bow. Sporran made of black goat's hair. Hose made of cloth (?) with red, white and mauve diamonds.

John Sobieski Stuart in his "Costumes of the Clans" treats of the use of *silk* in the gaelic banners, and remarks that it was first used at the battle of Harlaw A.D. 1402 and was afterwards so prevalent that the* "Orando Mhac Ionmhuinn (Poem of MacKinnon) an t-Stratha (of Strath) says

"Fhuair thu seùd o shiol Leòid
N'am Brataichean sròil." (You won a jewel from the race of Leod of the *silken* banners),

and there are other instances.

With regard to the MacKinnons crests—there are two. The most ancient is that of a man's head with beard affrontée, couped at the neck, crowned with an antique crown, gutté de sang, all ppr. This is to commemorate the death of King Ailpein slain by Brudus circ. A.D. 834.

The other is a boar's head, erased, arg. holding in its mouth the shank bone of a deer, ppr.

The legend of the boar's head runs thus;

In the days when the shores of Loch Scavaig were haunted by fierce wild boars, the Chief of Mackinnon in following a wounded red deer, out-distanced all his attendants. Finding shelter for the night in a cave on the edge of the Loch, he kindled a fire and began broiling some venison on the embers. In one hand he held a large bone from which he was cutting slices ready for dressing when a rustle on the dry sea-weed at the mouth of the cave made him look

* In MacDonald's collection the authorship is ascribed to Gregor Og McGregor and the subject of the poem is Lachlan Mòr the hero of Worcester field.

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up. To his horror he beheld a savage wild boar on the point of charging him, so quick as thought he grasped the bone more firmly and as the brute rushed in he dashed his arm down its throat and with the bone crossed held the cruel jaws wide open till he had time to dispatch the foe with his hunting-knife.

The motto to the old crest is "Cuimhnich bas Ailpein" (remember the death of Alpin).

The other motto is "Audentes fortuna juvat" a line from Virgil (*Gaelic* Tha Buaidh leis an Freun).

The Suaicheantas or Badge of the MacKinnons is giuthas (Pinus silvestris) a slip of Scotch Pine worn on the right side of the bonnet. This badge is common to all the tribes of the Siol Alpin. In later times the MacKinnons wore * S. John's wort or S. Columba's flower or charm.

The Slogan Cathgairm or Battle-shout was the same as their motto "Cuimhnich bas Ailpein."

* The English name of this bright yellow flower which with the Scotch pine I have delineated on the cover of this book is St. John's Wort, reminding us of the practices with which it was once connected. It was one of the flowers gathered by our forefathers to be thrown into the bonfires which were kindled in London on the Eve of St. John Baptist's Day (24th June). It was formerly worn in Scotland to preserve the wearer against witches. The old name of this flower, Balm of the Warrior's Wound, is now almost forgotten; but in the olden times physicians and poets alike celebrated its properties and some medical writers deemed it so efficacious an internal remedy for Hypochondria that they fancifully termed it Fuga Daemonum. A good ointment is still made of the rosin-scented blossoms. It tinges spirits and oil with a fine purple colour and the dried plant boiled with alum dyes wood of a rich yellow hue.



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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE ANTIGUA BRANCH.

At the close of the fifth chapter we parted with the main or Kilmorie line of Chiefs in the person of the unfortunate John 31st Chief in direct descent from King Ailpein, who died unmarried in 1808. Strange to relate, his successor in the honour of representing our ancient tribe had to be sought for, all later male issue being apparently extinct, among the descendents of the 28th Chief Lachlan Mòr. This Chief the hero of Worcester fight had a second son by his first wife named Donald who emigrated to Antigua under circumstances mentioned at the end of the 4th Chapter and changed his name as was frequently the practice among Highland emigrants, to Daniel. He died there in 1720 at the age of 62, his eldest son William died at Bath in 1767 aged 70, and *his* eldest son William died at Binfield in 1809 aged 77. This last named gentleman was therefore actually Chief for the last year of his life but in his remote English home he most probably never even heard of the death of John who apart from other circumstances was only related to him in the degree of second cousin once removed. His eldest son died *vitâ parentis* leaving two sons the eldest of whom William Alexander proceeded to Edinburgh in 1810-11 and was duly recognised by the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms as 33rd Chief in succession to his grandfather William and his patent as such was accordingly taken out and dated 8th March 1811. Some questions have at different times arisen as to the validity of the claims of this branch but even if the above patent were insufficient evidence, there remain the records of the six family trees extant two of these by Donald Gregory the eminent historian, another by Donald Mackinnon Minister of the family parish of Strath a noted genealogist who lived from 1732 to 1831, another the property of the MacKinnons of Kyle and two more of almost equal value. In all *six*, the Chiefship is assigned to the representatives of Daniel of Antigua. In 1767 before any controversy could have arisen, the still legible inscription on William's slab-stone in Bath Abbey describes him as son of Daniel who was *second son of Lachlan Mòr MacKinnon, Chief of MacKinnon*; and

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finally to set the question at rest for ever, the founders of the Clan MacKinnon Society in 1891—a society to which members of every branch of the Clan belong—called upon objectors and claimants through the agency of the Press and otherwise to state their case, and there being no response inaugurated their Society in that year by placing Mr. W. A. MacKinnon of Acryse at its head and loyally acknowledging him as the Chief.

The part played in the world by many of the Antigua MacKinnons was of no inconsiderable importance and therefore we will in the present and subsequent chapters chronicle their lives *seriatim.* Donald who was born in 1658 became as we have seen founder of the branch. He was probably not professionally educated at any of the Scotch Universities, but on reaching his new West Indian home applied himself to the study of medicine and according to a custom by no means uncommon in his days practised without any qualification or license.

The late Dr. Charles Hawkins an eminent authority on these matters told me that this was quite usual even in the case of "good" men and that so recently as early in this century he could recollect more than one surgeon of repute in the provinces of England practising without any "license."

Donald or Daniel as he was now called, sometimes with the title "Doctor" sometimes with the word "physician," "chirurgeon," or "surgeon" after his name, successively acquired the estates of Golden Grove, Dropes, Dickenson's Bay and "MacKinnons" in Antigua and married in or before 1696, Elizabeth daughter of Col. John Thomas commanding the Barbadoes Regiment who distinguished himself by conspicuous gallantry at the taking of S. Christophers in 1690 and whose grandson George became Captain General and Governor in Chief of all His Majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands and was created a Baronet.

In the book of Government Grants the following entries appear:—

*1693. Dr. Daniel MacKinnen receives two places for a Wharf by Warrant.

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* I believe this is the earliest entry extant for Antigua—any earlier ones having been destroyed by fire.—ED.

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1694. Daniel MacKenin of S. John's Town, chirurgeon granted three proportions of town land to C. Codrington, dated 6 Wm. and Mary.

1695. Petition of Daniel MacKinen. . has purchased 50 acres of Capt. John Gamble and 30 acres from Jonathan Squire formerly the land of Thomas Oliver deceased and 45 acres of Margaret Samuel Martin and Capt. John Perris formerly the lands of William Munrow deceased. . . . and asks for a patent which is accordingly granted by Christopher Codrington the Governor of the Leeward Islands on 26th November, 7 Wm. and Mary. The wording of this petition shows that Dr. Daniel already held lands under Grant from the Government. The Court sat at Parham.

1695. Dr. Danl. MacKenin is described in a *caveas* as a Protestant of Antigua.

Some years elapse and he becomes (circ. A.D. 1700) a member of the Legislative Council of Antigua which was an office of great importance as Antigua was the centre of government for all the Leeward Islands and the seat of the Governor.

On September 5, 1704, Dr. MacKinnen is mentioned as being an officer who is willing to take charge of the Fort at MacKinen's Point.

In 1706 Dr. Daniel MacKinnen conveys to Chas. Knight and H. Dunstan guardians of John Williams two pieces of land part of Dickenson's Bay 12½ acres, dated 30th November.

In 1708 the Dr., described in the conveyance as "surgeon" conveys to Wm. Navine part of land near Dickenson's Bay; dated 15th June, and in 1709 there is a conveyance from Daniel MacKinnen to Patrick West merchant, of property in the city of S. John, dated 4th May. So far his life seems to have been a peaceful and prosperous one. Now however troubles arose in which the Doctor bore a prominent part.

It appears that in the early days of the eighteenth century the conduct of a despotic and licentious Governour (Parke by name) was such that at the request of the inhabitants he was recalled; but on his refusal to obey the Royal command, five hundred of the inhabitants rose as one man

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and in spite of the loss of a considerable part of their number from the opposition of the tyrant's guards, succeeded in seizing Parke and making him atone for his deeds with his life. After the death of Col. Parke, four of the members of the Legislature were sent to Nevis where General Walter Hamilton, next in command to the late Captain General, resided. Having explained their mission they invited him to come to Antigua and assume the chief command. He received the party with great urbanity and kindness and accompanied them back to Antigua and took up his quarters at the residence of Dr. Daniel MacKinnon one of the principal actors in the late affray. Queen Anne was very much incensed against the islanders on hearing of their conduct, but when she was made aware of the catalogue of Parke's crimes and in order to prevent the further effusion of blood, Her Majesty was graciously pleased to send a general pardon to all concerned in the transaction.

General Hamilton was however recalled and General Walter Douglas appointed in his room. He had scarcely been two years Governor before complaints against him also were dispatched to England with a petition from the inhabitants praying the Queen to recall him and in this petition their late Governor, Hamilton, joined. Douglas now made himself so obnoxious persecuting Hamilton and suspending him from all offices he held in the Island, that another rebellion became imminent. On Hamilton repairing to England to transact some private business, Governor Douglas endeavoured to seize Daniel MacKinnon and Chief Justice Watkins for their proceedings in the affair of Governor Parke as well as on the plea of another intended rebellion. These gentlemen however contrived to escape to England where from advices received from Douglas they were eventually arrested and committed first to Newgate then to the Tower. Here they either pleaded the general pardon which Her Majesty had issued and were released without trial, or as some assert they remained in prison till they were enabled to take advantage of the act of grace on the accession in 1714 of George I to the throne.† John Daniel MacKinnon (great grandson of the Doctor) in his work on the West Indies published in 1802 is of

† An Antigua record states that they were liberated on 28th June, 1715.

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opinion that they were actually at the time of George the First's accession under sentence of death.

The sturdy Highlander now returned to his estates and nothing more is recorded of him beyond the fact that he remained a useful and influential member of the legislature representing the town of S. John's, and with becoming modesty declining the honour of Speakership of the Assembly. He seems to have completely cut himself off from all communication with the family in his native Isle of Skye, and indeed beyond retaining the boar's head crest he did not even wear the family arms but assumed, on a bend three mullets. In S. John's churchyard on the south side of the cathedral is a handsome stone altar tomb; on the top is a ledger stone with a large shield of arms (as above) and the following inscription:—"Here lyeth the body of Daniel MacKinen Esqre who departed this life the 26th of March 1720 aged 62 years." The tomb is said to be very perfect and upright even at the present day.

A short extract from his Will which is to be found in the Antigua record office may not be uninteresting to our readers as a specimen of the instrument of that day.

To my wife Elizabeth all my plate and household stuff—certain slaves—and my best riding horse.

To my daughter Jane Tomlinson £1,200, her legacy to be first paid.

To my son Samuel £1,000 and £50 yearly till legacy is paid.

To my son William all my plantations, lands, &c., and to his heirs and in default of issue to my son Samuel his heirs &c. and in default of issue between my daughters* Elizabeth Carlisle and Jane Tomlinson.

To my son Samuel one negroe and a horse of £50 value.

To my sons-in-law Francis Carlisle and John Tomlinson and my said 2 daughters and my son Samuel such mourning as my Exors. think proper.

To my 3 grand children, children of my said daughter Elizabeth

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* In Watford Church, Herts, near the north door is a tablet: "Body of Mary, infant dau. of Francis and Elizabeth Carlisle of Antigua, aged one year and 10 months."

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Carlisle, viz., to Francis, Edward, and Alice, 20,000 lbs. of sugar each, at the age of 15.

To be Exors., Edward Byam, Lt. Governour of this Island, Francis Carlisle and Samuel Martin. Dated 20th March, 1719. Witnessed by Wm. Barclay, Wm. Black, and Mich. Arnold.

Before Governour Ed. Byam, Wm. Barclay physician swore to the Will on March 4th, 1720. *Recorded 4th April, 1720 (sic).

William, as we have seen, succeeded his father in the family estates and married in or before 1728 Charity second daughter of William Yeamans of Mill Hill, Governour and Commander in Chief of Antigua. William is variously described as †"Captain" and "Esquire." Few records of his life have come down to us, but it is known that he paid a visit to Edinburgh some six years after his father's death and there recorded his pedigree as the eldest son of the deceased Daniel who was a descendant of the Lairds of MacKinnon assuming thenceforth the correct family arms. That he did not describe his relationship, that of first cousin, to the existing Chief is easily explained from the fact that that Chief John Dubh was at the time under attainder for the part he had taken in the rising of 1715 in favour of the old Chevalier, and as William held his Antigua Estates under the Hanoverian Crown it would have been manifestly impolitic to prove any closer relationship than he did under the general terms described above.

On returning to Antigua‡ he resumed his duties on the legislative Council to which he had been elected the previous year and thenceforth was uninterruptedly returned to the Parliament for the next 40 years until his resignation just previously to his death which occurred on 8th October 1767 at Bath. His monument is still to be seen on a flat stone in the centre aisle of Bath Abbey where the family arms are correctly emblazoned with a bordure for

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* As Testator died 26th March 1720, 4th March is probably a slip of the copyist for 4th April.—ED.

† In September 1716, he is described as Captain of a troop of Carabineers and on January 1st 1722 as having been elected to the Assembly: while later he appears as "the Hon. William MacKinen (son of Daniel) Assistant Justice of Antigua."

‡ In the Laws of the Island of Antigua 1668-1804 appears the following—21 Geo. II. Sum of £746 12s. 4½d. borrowed from William MacKinnen Exor. of Thos. Watkins to build Court-house. A.D. 1747.

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difference, with the helmet above the shield befitting his degree, both crests, both mottoes, and the following inscription :—" To the memory of William MacKinnon Esqre son of Daniel (who was the second son of Lachlan Mòr MacKinnon Chief of MacKinnon) who died October the 8th 1767 aged 70 years."

On his retirement within two years of his death, he received the following letter from the Speaker of the Assembly :—

" Sir,

" I have it in command from the Assembly of this Island, to give you their thanks for your long and faithful services as a member of that House; and I do with pleasure obey this command, but am concerned for that which gives occasion for the latter part of their order, whereby I am commanded to offer you their compliments of condolence on account of that bad state of health which constrains you to retire from public business.

" Your merit, sir, distinguished you early as a proper person to serve your country in a legislative capacity; so that when you offered yourself a candidate, in your younger years, for a seat in the general Assembly of this Island, you found no difficulty in securing your election ; and you have ever since so demeaned yourself in this character, as to give a general satisfaction to your constituents.

" Their approbation of you needs no further proof than this, that you have been above these forty years past, without interruption, returned as one of the representatives of the people, in every Assembly which hath been called within that time.

" During this long period, your conduct hath been such on every occasion, as hath recommended you to the friendship and esteem of the representatives who have served in the several Assemblies with you. You have given a diligent attendance on the business of the House, and have been a strict observer of its rules; and have discovered in all matters which have come before the House, a clear discerning judgment and an unbiassed mind.

" To preserve the latter from all undue influence was probably one reason which moved you to decline accepting a seat at the Council Board, where you would now and for some years past have presided, if you had thought fit to make use of a Mandamus, which

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(although it was not sought) was sent to you many years ago * ; and this circumstance affords just cause to believe that you have acted from truly patriotic principles, as it is a clear evidence that you have not been governed by an ambitious spirit.

"You are now, sir, become a veteran in your country's service; and might, by reason of your advanced age, have made an honourable retreat from business, even if you had been in vigorous health. You cannot doubt, therefore, that your application for liberty to resign your seat, with which I acquainted the House at their last meeting, appeared highly reasonable to them; and they, with the just regard which they have for so old and faithful a servant of the public, and in order to discharge you in the most honourable manner, immediately came to the following resolution:—

"Resolved with one voice, that the thanks of this House be given to William MacKinnon Esqre, late a member, for his long and faithful services to his country as a member of this House, and that their compliments of condolence be at the same time offered to him on account of his bad state of health, which constrains him to retire from public business; and that Mr. Speaker do, in a letter addressed to him, acquaint the said William MacKinnon with this resolution, and send him the thanks of this House and their compliments of condolence accordingly.

"Agreeably to this resolution, and in obedience to their command, I do, in the name of the Assembly of Antigua, thank you, sir, for your long and faithful services to your country, during all the time you have had a seat in that House, and I do also in their name condole with you, on account of your bad state of health, which obliges you to retire from public business.

"I am, with regard, sir, your obedient humble servant,

"(Signed) MATHL. GILBERT,

"December 13th, 1765. Speaker."

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* The appointment was dated 1739, and runs thus:—"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We being well satisfied of the loyalty, integrity, and ability of our trusty and well-beloved William MacKinen, Esqre, have thought fit hereby to signify our Will and Pleasure to you, that forthwith and upon receipt hereof, you swear and admit him the said William MacKinen to be one of our Council of our Island of Antigua in the room of John Duer

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REPLY.

MR. SPEAKER.

"SIR,—Being not conscious of any merit in myself but that of a never-failing regard for the interests and reputation of our little community, I could not but be very much surprised at the honour done me by the gentlemen of the Assembly, in your letter of a late date, an honour which cannot fail to alleviate the infirmities of old age, and will enable me to carry my grey hairs with pleasure to the grave; that must have effects, too, more lasting than my life; and encourage the future as well as the present generation, in their honest endeavour to obtain a good name, by a steady pursuit of the public good.

"I return the gentlemen of the Assembly thanks, such as I have not words to express; and beg they will be pleased to accept of my warmest wishes for the perpetual peace, prosperity, and freedom of themselves, and all our fellow subjects of Great Britain, under a series of Monarchs, born in a country, and bred in the principles of Liberty and Virtue.

"I cannot conclude this letter, sir, without making acknowledgments to you, for the advantageous light you have endeavoured to place me in, and hope your own faithful services after a length of time, will meet with the same honourable reward that hath been bestowed on me."

William had three brothers. 1. Robert a Captain in the Royal Americans whose services are honourably mentioned by General Murray and who married a daughter of Cunningham of S. Christophers (see Earls of Glencairn) and had issue. 2. George, who died v.p. unmarried; and 3. Samuel who married and had issue. And two sisters, 1. Elizabeth who married firstly Francis Carlile of Antigua (their grandson was Sir Ralph Payne K.B. Lord Lavington, Governour of Antigua) and secondly John Gray also of

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Esqre who has resigned on account of his bad state of health. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you farewell.

"Given at our Court at Kensington 17th day of June 1739, in 13th year of our Reign.

"By His Majesty's command,
"George R."

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Antigua. 2, Jane who married Col. Tomlinson Lt. Governor of Antigua.

William was succeeded in his estates by his eldest son William who married in 1758, Louisa daughter and * co-heiress of James Vernon of Hilton co. Stafford.† This gentleman was also a member of the Legislative Council of Antigua but leaving the Island, spent his later years at Binfield co. Berks where he purchased property.

On the death of John 31st Chief of the Clan in 1808, the elder branch became extinct, and the chiefship devolved, as we have elsewhere seen, on this William as the representative of Donald, second son of Lachlan Mòr 28th Chief of the name.

William had one brother George born 1738 of whom we have no further trace, and two sisters, 1. Elizabeth who married Thomas Fraser of Antigua (their grandson was Charles Grant 1st Lord Glenelg) and 2. Charity who married William Chambers and their son was the celebrated physician Dr. Chambers.

One of the largest ‡ full-length portraits extant by Hogarth is that of this William and Elizabeth his sister painted in London about the year 1747. It was in the possession of my late father General D. H. MacKinnon when he sent it in 1872 to the Exhibition of the Works of the Old Masters at the Royal Academy of Arts and its genuineness was at once recognized by the then President Sir Francis Grant and his brother academicians. Elizabeth aged about 18 is seated with a lap full of shells. William about 15 is picking a butterfly off a large sunflower in a pot which occupies the centre of the picture.

William's eldest son William, called to the Council of Antigua in 1793 thus making a fourth in succession from father to son, so honoured, died in the lifetime of his father at the age of thirty-four in 1794 at sea off Falmouth on a return voyage from Antigua and a tablet is erected to his memory on the south wall of Bath Abbey. He married when a mere boy Harriet daughter of Hon. Francis Frye of Antigua and left 1. William Alexander

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* Her sisters were Elizabeth wife of Count Thomas Du Pont, and Caroline wife of John Dewar: their issue were John, and Caroline, wife of the famous Baron Munchausen.

† For the Royal Descent of this family see Table at the end of this book.

‡ Canvas 71ins. by 56½ins.

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who succeeded in 1809 to the chiefship on the death of his grandfather and of whom presently, 2. Daniel the renowned "Dan" of the Guards, of whom also presently, and two daughters, 1. Harriet who married Dr. Molesworth, Vicar of Rochdale, Lancashire, 2. Catherine who married Robert Garden of Bidborough, Co. Kent.

The old Chief William had besides his son William who died at sea three other sons. 1. John Daniel whose life will occupy the next chapter. 2. George in Holy Orders dunm. 1840. 3. Henry whose brilliant military career occupies a separate chapter, and four daughters. 1. Louisa married to the Rev. H. Barnes. 2. Frances married to the Artist Keenan. 3. Harriet married George Watts, and 4. Eliza who died unmarried and who refused proposal of marriage by Napoleon Bonaparte: he however never forgot his early love and continued to correspond with her in later years. A chest full of his letters which doubtless contained much of surpassing interest was destroyed and the letters burnt according to her instructions at her death.

William the old Chief died on 9th February 1809 and was buried at Binfield. On his tomb it is recorded that he was possessed of a most amiable disposition and that he was remarkable for the purity of his morals and the benevolence and integrity of his heart.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### JOHN DANIEL MACKINNON.

BORN in 1770, second son of William 32nd Chief, John Daniel was educated at a preparatory school at Odiham proceeding in 1780 to Winchester where his contemporaries were Copley afterwards Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst; Howley afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Bowles the poet; Blomfield who became Bishop of London and Gabell who was first incumbent of Binfield and then head master of Winchester.

Warton the poet was head master in his time, a rigid disciplinarian and not over popular. MacKinnon rose rapidly and had only two above him in the school when his father unfortunately removed him, being under the impression that his son had been unfairly treated in a competition for a scholarship at New College, Oxford. On leaving Winchester he devoted himself to the study of the law, and was called to the Bar as a member of Gray's Inn where his father presented him with a set of chambers which remained in possession of the family till 1840. MacKinnon was an elegant poet and devoted to the classics which were his favourite pursuits in life and interfered materially with the study of his profession. Specimens of his writings will be found in the Appendix of this work.

In 1793 he went at his father's request to the island of Antigua, to see the Dickenson's Bay estate known as "MacKinnons" about a mile from the town of St. John's and including in its boundaries a splendid lagoon three miles long stretching between the plantation and the sea, on the banks of which duck shooting is famous. At that time it yielded a handsome income averaging £8,000 per annum.*

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* To illustrate the fallen fortunes of the West Indian sugar estates, a summary of the accounts of "MacKinnon's Estate" (which is now in the market and which passed out of the possession of the family upwards of sixty years since) for the seven years ending 1892 gives an average profit of only £829 per annum!

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From Antigua he proceeded to New York where he studied American Law and practised in the courts with much success acting at one time as Secretary to Washington in the last year of his Presidency. Whilst in the States, he made an expedition to the West in company with Prince Talleyrand, Napoleon's foreign minister, and his friend Hon. Thomas Law brother of Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice of England. MacKinnon purchased as a consequence of this journey a tract of country on the Mohawk river, in the counties of Herkimer and Montgomery, of several thousand acres which would have proved a most valuable investment had it been properly superintended but Major Cochran an American friend who was the joint purchaser neglected this fine property and when fifty years later the successors of MacKinnon endeavoured to obtain possession, placing their claims in the hands of Mr. Dudley Field, after ten years of litigation they had to abandon the suit—squatters, tax-tithes and the hostility of interested juries rendering all efforts abortive.

About 1799 MacKinnon returned to England to undertake the management of family affairs and resided with his father at Binfield. A letter from Colonel Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States (who subsequently killed Alexander Hamilton Ex-Treasurer of the United States in a duel) to MacKinnon introducing Washington Irving may be inserted here.

"New York August 9th, 1801.

"Dear Sir,—This will introduce to you my friend Mr. Erving, who goes out consul to London. He knows all your friends in the U.S. and can tell you better than any man what relates to our domestic and political situation; besides he has much of that taste and refinement which you know how to value, which, together with habits somewhat congenial with your own, will render him, I am sure, a most agreeable acquaintance.

"The pistols, the copying-press with some books and pamphlets were duly received but without letter or invoice—I am ignorant therefore of the state of my account of which I pray you to inform me. I give Mr. Webster no manner of credit for his *invention* in the copying-machine; the great desideratum is to decrease the bulk

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and the weight neither of which has he attempted. Still it is a very pretty thing and not destitute of convenience.

"I am, dear sir, with much respect and attachment,

"Your friend affectionately

"D. MacKinnon Esq. A. Burr.

'I send you a very curious oration by A. Bishopp."

In 1802 he re-visited Antigua and in 1803 again proceeded *viâ* the Bahamas to Charleston and published an account both of this tour and the previous one through the United States and Canada having already published a book of poems on the Hudson and Mohawk rivers. Extracts from these and all his works prose and verse will be found in the Appendix. Returning to England in 1804 he joined his family in the winter at Bath where he met a young lady Miss Rachel Yeamans-Eliot whose attractions riveted the attentions of himself and his brother Henry of the Coldstream Guards; the latter being summoned on active service left the field open to John Daniel who married her on the 23rd May 1805 when she had just attained her eighteenth birthday. She was the only child and heiress of Captain Eliot of Park Place Kirkcudbrightshire, whose sisters afterwards Lady Crosbie, Baroness Le Despencer and Countess of Erroll were celebrated for their beauty and I believe their niece fell little short of her aunts in this respect. On the 8th July 1811 at Kirkcudbright, John Daniel was admitted a Burgess of that Burgh; "with liberty to him to exercise and enjoy the whole Immunities and Privileges thereof as amply and freely as any other does or may enjoy, and he, being present gave his oath of Burgesship to His Majesty in the Burgh in the usual form."

In 1812 Daniel MacKinnon who in his later years dropped the name of John published his work on the "Philosophy of Evidence" (see Appendix) which passed through three editions and was very favourably reviewed. It was his earliest work however on the West Indies which perhaps attracted the most attention and as a sequel to his labours he was offered the governorship of the Bahamas together with a Nova Scotia Baronetcy, but for some reason unknown to me he declined them both.

An extract from a letter he received about this period may be of interest owing to the signature.

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After alluding to a great deal of family business the letter concludes "Should you have formed a resolution concerning the future welfare of the young Dewars and I can be of any service to you on the Continent, I beseech you, dear Sir, to inform me of it; I shall with pleasure do everything that lies in my power in order to give you a proof of the high consideration with which I have the honor to subscribe myself,

"Sir, your most obedient servant

"F. MUNCHAUSEN,

"Brunswic, the 3 Obr. 1814." Grand Chambellan."

This was no less a personage than the famous Baron Munchausen, who was son in law of Mrs. Dewar maternal aunt of John Daniel MacKinnon. The young Dewars referred to must have been Edward and Caroline younger children to whom John Daniel was guardian.

In 1816, Daniel took a lease of a cottage at Binfield to be near his mother now a widow his father the Chief having died in 1809, but had only taken possession a few weeks when his beloved mother was suddenly taken from him—a loss to which he could never refer without tears; she was a devout and earnest Christian, possessed of sound sense of judgment and an unruffled temper; her remains lie beside her husband's in the family vault at Binfield. It is an interesting fact that she was the great-great niece of the celebrated Di Vernon, the heroine of Walter Scott's "Rob Roy."

After his mother's death, Mackinnon resided alternately at Binfield and Sidmouth till 1821 in which year having spent the winter and spring at Versailles and Paris, he returned to reside at Binfield. During these years he kept up a frequent correspondence with his American friends—Livingstone, Cochran and Ludlow—and was desirous of re-visiting the United States, but his wife felt so much repugnance to the voyage that it was abandoned.

In 1824 West Indian affairs being in a depressed state, the cottage at Binfield was let to the Rev. J. Manley, and the family adjourned to Boulogne-sur-Mer where William-Henry the eldest son was drowned. The two youngest Edmund-Vernon and Daniel

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Henry were sent to the French College at Boulogne kept by M. Blériot.

In 1827 Daniel-Henry was transferred to Rev. J. Manley's, and as he removed in 1828 to Clifton, the family returned to Binfield in 1829.

In that year a fatal disorder overtook John Daniel MacKinnon and he took lodgings in London to place himself nnder the care of his friends Dr. Hawkins and Mr. Copeland of Golden Square whose abilities in that disorder were considered paramount. However medical aid proved of no avail and his sufferings ended on the 30th January 1830 and on the 5th February following, his remains were placed beside those of his beloved parents in the family vault at Binfield.

If ever mortal man departed this life prepared for a better, MacKinnon did; his whole career from early manhood was characterised by those devout sentiments which pervade his publications, letters and manuscripts. The Bible was his earnest study daily and for hours ; his noble, placid and elevated mind was guided in thought, word and deed by the habitual and unswerving sense of religion. His latter years were years of severe trial. Relatives for whose benefit he had laboured assiduously repaid him with ingratitude; his only surviving brother became imbecile, the result of a severe accident; his worldly possessions year by year diminished, and his eldest son, of the highest promise, was suddenly taken from him. There can be but little doubt that the constant strain of mind seriously affected his bodily health. Amidst all these great troubles there was one constant bright gleam in the devotion of his wife : often did his children hear him exclaim " She is my ministering angel ! "

Mrs. MacKinnon was so stunned by the loss of her husband that it was apprehended that she would not long survive him. The husband's converse and example imprinted on his wife a portion of his character. From the date of his death her energies were centred in a preparation for another life. The education of her children induced her to leave Binfield which no longer possessed any family ties, and to reside abroad, chiefly in Germany and France.

She was always cheerful in society and devoted to her children and gentle and affable to all, but her widowhood was a constant



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struggle against the *res angustæ domi*, for her means were sadly reduced until the year 1836, when a Chancery suit of more than twenty years' duration was decided in her favour and brought a welcome addition of nearly £10,000 to her income. She was a model as a Christian, wife and mother. Her children could not remember hearing an angry expression escape her lips. Twice she was asked to renounce widowhood, but her answer was that her heart was buried with her husband.

On the 22nd November 1846 she calmly passed away at Boulogne from the effects of a chill, and was interred in the cemetery there, near the remains of her beloved eldest son William Henry, a short notice of whom follows :—

He was born 25th April 1806 was educated at Dr Lempriere's at Exeter and subsequently at Charterhouse where he rose nearly to the head of the school, giving high promise; he was destined for Holy Orders and would have entered at Balliol, Oxford, but the Almighty decreed otherwise, and he was drowned at Boulogne on 22nd July 1824 at the age of 18, endeavouring, it was supposed, to swim to a yacht in the offing. Specimens of his early poetic genius are to be found in the Appendix.

The second son Daniel-Edmund-Vernon was born 11th December 1809 and having been educated at various schools proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1835. Edmund was also destined for Holy Orders but entered the army April 1836 as cornet and sub-lieutenant in the 2nd Life Guards. He afterwards exchanged with Sir Francis Sykes 97th Regiment at Corfu, but returned in a few months, exchanged to the 11th Hussars in 1844 and being out of health and finding the duty under Lord Cardigan too severe exchanged to the Carabineers in 1845, which he joined at Manchester, but finding the duty again too severe, exchanged to the 16th Lancers and as the Regiment was returning from India, he was placed on half pay in 1847. In 1848 he was gazetted to a paymastership in the 5th Dragoon Guards quartered at Birmingham, and married Selina daughter of George Moore Boultbee and Lady Elizabeth his wife daughter of George second Marquis Townshend. In 1854 he embarked with the regiment for service in the Crimean War, but shortly after arrival at Varna was sent home on medical certificate,

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his health having completely broken down, and he retired on half-pay. Having recovered he was appointed in 1855 to a company in the 2nd Stafford Militia, and shortly afterwards Major-General Eden, commanding the South-Western District appointed him to be his aide-de-camp and subsequently Major General Hutchinson who succeeded to the command named him also as his aide-de-camp.

On his period of office expiring he was appointed to the Recruiting Staff (London District) and stationed at Hertford and retired finally (from the King's Dragoon Guards) in 1868.

During all this period he was welcomed wherever he served not only on account of affability of manners, but owing to his genuine kindness of disposition. Everybody had a kindly word to say of "Mund" as he was affectionately termed by those who knew him best. His powers as an actor were remarkable. No amateur performance in his day was considered complete unless he was included in the caste, and I have always heard from those who saw him both in his younger days and in middle life enthusiastic praises of his dramatic talent. Taking to archery after the age of 40 he became one of the first bowmen in England, as the records of the Royal Toxophilite Society can show. His great height, well-proportioned figure and handsome face caused his selection on many gala occasions as escort officer of the 2nd Life Guards.

He died 10th April 1879 in London, his wife having predeceased him, leaving two surviving sons Ranald-Edmund-Eliot and Edmund-Hubert (died unm. 1892) and three daughters, Rose-Vernon, Selina-Lucinda married to Frederick F. Ramsden, and Florence-Marguèrite-Arabella.

The youngest son Daniel-Henry was born in London 18th September 1813, educated by Rev. T. Manley at Kingston near Clifton and matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin where he obtained the classical premium in 1834, and the classical certificate at the final examination the same year.

In April 1835 he accompanied his brother Edmund to the West Indies, to visit the estate in Antigua where the apprenticeship system of the negroes was introduced preparatory to emancipation.

In July the two brothers proceeded in the mail schooner through the Isles to S. Thomas having narrowly escaped being

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wrecked in a tornado, the La Guayra mail-boat foundering close to them in the gale. From S. Thomas they sailed to New York to visit the American estates. Proceeding in a steam vessel up the Hudson to Albany, and thence by tramway to Saratoga, they took the canal boat to Utica and thence a miserable coach over the corduroy roads to Buffalo. From Buffalo a steamer conveyed them to Niagara. After viewing the Falls they booked their places the same evening for Fort Niagara whence they took steamer across Lake Ontario to Toronto and thence next day to Oswego. From Oswego back to New York was a most wearisome journey. They stopped *en route* to visit the estates which were tenanted chiefly by squatters who had burnt the trees and partially cultivated the lands. These gentlemen, however, seemed more inclined to deal in bowie knives or in rifles than in parchment or dollars for obtaining title deeds. Returned to New York the brothers proceeded to visit the Morris family at Morrisiana in West Chester and received a hearty welcome from Morris who was their late father's agent. The recovery of the estates being placed in Morris's hands, they returned to New York and embarking in a Yankee liner, reached England after a rapid passage on 22nd September 1835.

Early in 1836, Daniel-Henry took his B.A. degree being placed seventh on the Honour Lists for Moderatorship and 1st July 1836 was gazetted to a cornetcy in 16th (Queen's) Lancers. The narrative of his services in the East have been detailed in a work entitled "Military Service in the Far East" (see Appendix) which included the first Affghan Campaign and the Sikh war.

Returning with the regiment to England in 1846 he was quartered at Canterbury and afterwards at Brighton and on 12th October 1847 married Caroline youngest daughter of the Hon. Thomas Robert 4th Baron Dimsdale, of Camfield Place, Herts.

In November 1847 he exchanged to the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabineers) quartered at Dundalk and in November 1848 was appointed Paymaster of the 43rd Light Infantry at Templemore serving with both regiments through the Irish Rebellion. In June 1851, he went on half-pay, and in the autumn of that year, with his wife and infant son visited Germany and returned for the winter to Brussels. The winter of 1852 was spent in Paris.

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In February 1854, when at Dover, Captain MacKinnon was appointed Staff Officer of Pensioners at Enniskillen and in June 1856 was transferred to Leicester, in October 1858 to the 1st (East London) District and in January 1859 to what was considered the best Staff Pension billet in Great Britain, *viz:* Woolwich, at the same time obtaining his Major's rank.

While at Leicester the following incident occurred. On July 30th 1857, a pseudo-philosopher, styling himself "Parallax" gave a lecture in the Temperance Hall on "Zetetic Astronomy" to prove that the Earth is flat. At 10.30 p.m. after the lecture, Captain MacKinnon at the request of the audience, took the chair. In the course of the discussion which followed, the lecturer was asked to account for the fact that the Sun was not smaller before setting than at noon. The lecturer accounted for it on the same principle as that on a foggy night the lights of gas-lamps appear larger at a distance than close to. He also stated that he had frequently seen the light from a light-house appear larger at a distance than near. This being denied it was referred, as a question of fact, to the chairman, Captain MacKinnon, who quietly observed that if the light increased with distance, that from a penny candle and not a perfect blaze would be sufficient for a light-house. At 11.45 p.m. the audience rushed away, most of them quite satisfied that the lecturer's theory had been demolished by unprofessional debaters and on his own grounds.

On November 10th and 16th, 1857 Captain MacKinnon delivered two lectures at the Town Hall on "British Military Power in India" which were delivered to an immense and enthusiastic audience. They were afterwards printed, and Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to receive copies and to read them. Of their merit we may judge by the commentaries of "The Naval and Military Gazette" which said,

"On this most interesting subject at the present moment, one of the best pamphlets recently published has been written by Captain MacKinnon, Staff Officer of Pensioners at Leicester. In the form of two lectures delivered by him to a crowded assembly at Leicester, he has most ably and lucidly traced the rise and progress of our military power in India, and enabled us to 'read as we run' with him through the annals of our Eastern wars the prophetic

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warnings of the present state in which mutiny has left the native armies of India. In all our wars it is clearly to be seen that conquest resulted from the indomitable energies of the British commanders and British soldiers, and *not* from the *numbers* of Sipahees who followed them. Captain Mackinnon has taken a comprehensive view of modern Anglo-Indian history, and we frankly confess that he has placed much in a new and clear light which other writers had failed to elucidate to our satisfaction.

"In the latter portion of his second lecture, Captain MacKinnon writes from personal knowlege of the chief events, which he relates with graphic truth and distinctness, and on which he comments cursorily with a terse neatness seldom found in our most practised writers."

In the same "Gazette" of 30th January 1858 we find the following article headed "The Right Way to Address Soldiers."

"We have in our time had the gratification of hearing such men as Sir Charles Napier, Sir Harry Smith and perhaps one or two others distinguished for a martial eloquence, address their comrades in arms, and have felt our cheeks tingle with 'thoughts that breathed and words that burned.' The art of speaking to soldiers is rare indeed, and even the most eloquent in the Senate have signally failed in the attempt as we well remember.

"We have been much struck by the simple and solemn eloquence of the address made by Captain D. H. MacKinnon at Leicester on the 25th inst. when presenting a medal by order of the Commander-in-Chief to a gallant soldier for good conduct.

"Captain MacKinnon, with that good taste and high feeling for which as a scholar and a soldier he is well-known in the service, took the opportunity of presenting the medal to Sergeant Grant before a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants of Leicester, who had met to inaugurate the planting of Russian guns as trophies in that town.

"The address of Captain MacKinnon is one admirably calculated to impress the good people of Leicester with the value of those men who devote their lives to the service of their Queen and country and to encourage the young men to enter on a military career which now presents so many advantages over that of a life of hard toil with the poor house in reversion. We want such

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men as Captain MacKinnon to give a spur to the recruiting and to shew to the public the true form and feature of the army." His words were as follows:—

"Sergeant Grant" (47th Regiment) "The pleasing duty has been intrusted to me by H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief of presenting you with a good conduct medal, and I think that no better opportunity than the present could be selected—a day on which a ceremony is being performed fraught with peculiar interest to Englishmen" (anniversary of the marriage of the Princess Royal of England) "a day also selected by the Mayor of this flourishing town for placing in position these trophies of the Russian War, memorials of the prowess of our fellow soldiers. Surrounded by your late comrades in arms, bearing upon their breasts the tokens of their services, this moment is peculiarly gratifying to a soldier for it testifies that our country is not forgetful of those who serve her faithfully; and I believe I may state that the Mayor and Corporation have resolved to inscribe on these guns the names of those gallant men who belonged to this county and fell in the service of their country in the Crimea, and also of those who shed their blood on the same memorable occasion.

"In England the quality of courage may almost be pronounced indigenous and to say that a soldier bears the reward of valour on his breast is to say that he has seen service, for war and victory have been with Englishmen synonymous terms; but I would assert a peculiar merit for the medal I now hold in my hand. A day, an hour, nay the impulse of a moment may stimulate a man to some conspicuous act of daring, and to have earned such a distinction is most meritorious, but to have attained the reward of a good conduct medal infers a life long attendance to duty, and devotion to the service.

"Upwards of twenty years spent in Her Majesty's service have enabled me to form some estimate of the value of the class to which you belong; and I confidently assert that to you and such as you the British army and British nation are deeply indebted for contributing to the maintenance of that discipline in quarters which has led to almost universal success in the field.

"Such conduct by the example it affords tends to elevate the character of the British soldier, and proves that by steadiness

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and attention to duty, a soldier may earn as you have done a provision in the army, and return among his own people in the vigour of manhood. But furthermore, the moral training which such a life infers leads to much higher aspirations and nourishes the hope that when the scene of this transitory life draws to a close, the steady perseverance in well-doing may lead to the attainment of an imperishable crown beyond the grave."

Having lost his then only daughter at Old Charlton near Woolwich in 1864, Major MacKinnon requested to be removed from Woolwich, and was appointed to the first North London District, to succeed Col. Christie. He was promoted to be Lieut.-Col. in 1870, full Colonel in October 1877 and Major-General on retirement from the Pension Department in 1878. His death occurred in London on 7th June 1884 in his seventy-first year. Thus passed away one of whom it can truly be said that he was a loss to all around him. An elegant scholar with a brilliant University degree, he entered the Army at a time when learning was conspicuous by its absence amongst gentlemen of the sword, and I have often heard his brother officers relate that they depended upon him for well nigh everything that required more than mere professional knowledge. As an instance of this, on the night before the critical day of Aliwal when the position seemed almost desperate, he drew up the wills of most of the regimental officers. But he was more than a scholar—in later days when in England he was associated with men of letters, he has often been spoken of by them to me as a veritable genius. His remarkably retentive memory enabled him to take his place in conversation amongst classical scholars and so delighted were they to find in a soldier such intimate acquaintance with the Literæ Humaniores that the Fellows of an Oxford College pressed him to take an *ad eundem* degree and offered him an Honorary Fellowship of their Society—an offer which his modesty compelled him to decline. Always a retiring and reserved man, he had few friends but they were firm ones and death only separated them and him. His religious convictions were deep and unswerving—known only to his immediate family; but he was ever a loyal member of the Anglican Church.

I hardly dare to allude to his military achievements, so averse was he to any reference to his own deeds as can be seen in his

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military writings, but I know from others that his men swore that they would follow wherever he led and the trooper is no mean judge of a gallant heart in his leader. No cavalry regiment had a finer record at that period than the 16th Lancers and he served with them through two of their most brilliant campaigns—the first Affghan war including the capture of Ghuznee—and the first Sikh war including the affair at Buddewal, the hard fought field of Aliwal and the sanguinary battle of Sobraon besides other minor encounters too numerous to mention. He was senior subaltern at Aliwal but commanded the third squadron almost from the commencement of the day. He had his horse shot under him when charging the guns and a rallying square of infantry and lay for long under his dead horse with three mortally wounded Sikhs pinning him helplessly to the earth—and when at last a retreating sergeant of his own corps released him, he mounted the man's horse and resumed his command going through several other charges in a battle which lasted from dawn to sunset. As an instance of the severity of the contest, although he was *last* on the roster for duty he had to bury the corpses of the cavalry—men and horses—throughout the night, every other officer of the regiment being from wounds or exhaustion unavailable.*

Of his home life none can speak with more knowledge than I can. He was devoted to his children and was ever tender and affectionate to them and was an example to them in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.

He left a widow to mourn his loss and his family consisted of two sons: 1. Donald-Hilaro-Ouseley-Dimsdale, M.A., Ex. Coll. Oxford, Rector of Speldhurst with Groombridge, Kent, and author of these memoirs, who married Jemima daughter of the late James Macalpine-Leny (late 8th Hussars) of Dalswinton, Dumfriesshire, and has issue George-Donald-Henry, R.N., Alexander-Donald-Edward and Lachlan-Donald-Ian, R.N. 2. Alan-Murray, M.A., Trin. Coll. Oxford, late Private Secretary successively to

* He was awarded the war medals and clasps for these campaigns and battles but in those days a subaltern had to be content with no further recognition even of specially distinguished services—brevet rank and the companionship of the Bath being limited to those who had reached the rank of Captain.

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the late Rt. Hon. Cecil Raikes and to Sir James Ferguson, Postmasters General; and two daughters 1. Finetta-Sydney died 19th August, 1864. 2. Annie-Lucinda married to Henry St. John Raikes eldest son of the late Postmaster General.

Louisa-Rose the youngest child and only daughter of John-Daniel MacKinnon, was born at Binfield 29th July, 1820, and was educated first at the Ursuline's Convent at Boulogne, and afterwards at Mme. Faudier's in that town. She was an accomplished French and German scholar and a finished pianist, having won the highest certificate of her year at the Conservatoire in Paris. In 1853 she married James-Baker Graves, Judge in the Ceylon Civil Service. On the death of her husband she returned to England much broken in health and died in London April 1874, leaving no issue.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### HENRY MACKINNON.

In tracing the history of this distinguished soldier I shall to a great extent follow the somewhat stilted language of the military biography which was published in "The Royal Military Panorama" for December, 1813, the year following his death; but many extracts will be made from Southey's account of his life as also from his own journal and other private sources.

Henry was the youngest brother of John-Daniel whose life was recorded in the last chapter. He was born in August 1773 at his father's residence then called Longwood now Rosehill, the seat of the Earl of Northesk, near Winchester.

In 1785 his father resided in the French Province of Dauphiny on account of the ill-health of his eldest son William; and young Henry who had hitherto been educated in domestic retirement was placed for the commencement of an academical education in the Military College of Tournon, in the neighbouring Province of Languedoc. In the vacation he visited his family and it is a remarkable circumstance that at that period he formed an acquaintance with Napoleon Bonaparte who was a frequent visitor. This ambitious character, the most celebrated of modern times, was then subaltern of a regiment stationed in the neighbouring garrison. One of the MacKinnon family, who was then on a visit from England, frequented a *café litteraire*, but being little skilled in the French tongue found much difficulty in joining the lively and rapid conversation of the frequent parties assembled there.

Secluded from the rest he observed a young officer whose silent deportment and serious manners combined with an expressive countenance and a dark eye of the most acute penetration, bespoke a mind of no common mould.

For some time no opportunity for an introduction to his acquaintance occurred, when accidently retiring to the ruins of an old lime kiln for shelter from a storm, he met there the officer whom he had before noted for his singular deportment. A conversation began

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which ended in an invitation to the house of Mr. Mackinnon where the future Emperor became a frequent guest. He was observed to be silent and retiring in the company of ladies but the gentleman who first introduced him found much pleasure in his conversation. This was indeed slower and more intelligible to his unpractised ear than the diction of most Frenchmen ; and an incident occurred which even then bespoke the officer's attention and versatility of talent. The friends were overheard in a literary or historical debate, when Mr. MacKinnon's eldest son William who was much attached to his society, amazed at the strange jargon of the officer, exclaimed, " What new language is that you are speaking, my friend ? I never heard such a mingled dialect before. You do not call that French, surely ? "

" No " replied the officer " but it is a tongue which your friend and I understand very well."

In fact it appeared that to accommodate himself to his companion he had adopted a sort of phraseology mixed up with Anglicisms, which was unintelligible to others and by no means after the usual style of his own conversation.

Little did the MacKinnon family at this time apprehend that they were the early hosts of one who should become at a future period the principal military hero of an age of revolution, the monarch of France, the implacable foe of England, the colossal power against whom their son was to bear arms in the service of his country, against whom he was destined to plant the standard of victory and in his expiring moments to bathe the laurel with his blood.

The interesting fact has already been alluded to (page 76) that the reserve of young Napoleon towards one of the ladies of the family gradually lessened, and that finally he proposed for the hand of Eliza, the youngest of Mr. MacKinnon's daughters when his suit was rejected.

Napoleon was greatly attracted to Henry the subject of this chapter who was three or four years his junior and this attraction never faded and as Southey remarks " it is one of the redeeming points of Buonaparte's character that he never forgot his attachment to the MacKinnon family, that during the peace of Amiens, he invited them to France where they might receive proofs of it, and

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that when he heard of General Henry MacKinnon's death at Ciudad Rodrigo he manifested some emotion." In addition to this it is on record that he granted *a free pass* even during the war to *every member* of this family—it is a great pity that the autograph letter in which it was contained has been lost or accidentally destroyed. For Henry's mother too he evinced a special regard, and used frequently to enquire for her by the name of the "Good Madame MacKinnon."

Whether it was that he discovered in Henry a rising military genius or whether he really liked him for himself we know not, but certain it is that he never forgot him for John-Daniel writing to a friend a few months after his brother's death at Ciudad Rodrigo, preserves to us an interesting fact when he says "Your compliment on the memory of my brother is pecularly grateful to me. He was highly valued by the Duke of Wellington for having refused an offer by Bonaparte to make him a French Marshal."

At an early age Henry MacKinnon acquired a perfect knowledge of the French tongue and became tinctured with those fascinating manners and accomplishments by which the higher orders in France were peculiarly characterised, and imbibed their chivalrous love of military glory, a circumstance which as might be expected, afforded a bias to his taste and a permanent incentive to his military ambition.

Even in his tender years he was distinguished by an ardent and persevering spirit, great perspicuity of judgment, coolness of deliberation, promptitude of decision and steadiness in his opinions; not the result of a rash and confident temper but of acute perceptions and a mind uncommonly sagacious and reflecting. His progress in the studies to which his attention was directed and particularly in the mathematical sciences was at this period the admiration of his masters, and to the eyes of his most discerning friends presented a fair prospect of the greatest eminence in his profession.

Thus qualified he entered the army in 1788, just before completing his fifteenth year, and served during three years as a subaltern in the 43rd Regiment (Monmouthshire Light Infantry) then stationed in Ireland. In 1791 he was made a captain, to raise an independent company, and in 1793 was transferred to the Coldstream Guards.

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The earliest development of his military talents and the demonstration that his theoretic attainments were combined with that practical ability which alone constitutes a valuable officer, did not take place until the unfortunate disturbances in Ireland, where he was attached to the staff as Major of Brigade to Sir George Nugent then commanding the Northern district of that Kingdom.

During the arduous moments of the rebellion of 1798 his conduct was particularly noticed in public dispatches. He was present at the battles of Antrim and Ballynahinch; and services of some note considering the scale on which they were performed displayed in his military character that fine assemblage of qualities which constitute true heroism, undaunted courage united with judgment, and chastened by the tenderest feelings of our nature. An Irish lady of distinction (Lady Londonderry) when speaking of him at this period of his life, observed.— "Major MacKinnon is indeed admired in Ireland for his person and courage, but he is *adored* for his humanity." His person was then so remarkable as to be a theme of admiration even in a country which on the score of manly comeliness is universally allowed to stand unrivalled among the nations of Europe. But those who knew him best were sensible that although not unconscious of the influence of a fine person accompanied by graceful manners, he attached but little consequence to these possessions, whilst he assigned all his leisure hours to literary pursuits, and devoted himself whenever he could be useful, with the most ardent zeal and activity to the service of his country.

He quitted his staff appointment in Ireland to proceed with his regiment in the memorable and disastrous expedition under the Duke of York to the Helder; and was present in the actions which took place on 19th September and on 2nd, 3rd and 6th October 1799. In that short campaign, on the retreat of the British Army, a favourable opportunity was afforded him for displaying many traits of courage and some skilful conduct with a detachment of the Coldsteam Guards in checking the advances of a much superior body of the enemy.

Anxious to seize every opportunity of distinguishing himself, he shortly afterwards, with the rank of field officer, volunteered his

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services to Egypt, and in 1801 took the command of the 1st battalion of his regiment in the lines before Alexandria, and fought both at the landing in Aboukir Bay and at the Battle of Alexandria.

Unfortunately however he was compelled under the malignant influence of that climate, resulting in a violent disorder with which he was suddenly seized whilst on duty in the field, to return to Malta. Being somewhat restored to health, he proceeded to Sicily and on his way home through Italy, embraced an opportunity of visiting many interesting scenes of action and of surveying all those monuments of ancient grandeur and genius which that country offers to the gratification of a literary taste and a lover of the fine arts.

During the short peace which ensued, he was anxious to increase still further his extensive acquaintance with the continent of Europe and was present at the reviews of troops at Cassel, Dresden and Potsdam in the autumn of 1802.

His reception at Berlin was particularly distinguished by the flattering notice which he received from the Royal Family of Prussia, whilst he was generally considered as one of the most accomplished English gentlemen who had visited that Court. His mind, however, was intent upon such objects only as were most conducive to his professional advancement, and a proportion of his time was uniformly devoted to military studies.

On the recommencement of hostilities, he successively accompanied the Coldstream Guards to Bremen in 1805 and on the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807. Previous to the two last expeditions he married in 1804, Catherine youngest daughter of Sir John Call, Bart. of Whiteford, Cornwall.

In 1809 he proceeded to Portugal, was with Sir Arthur Wellesley (Wellington) at the brilliant passage of the Douro, and in the subsequent pursuit of Marshal Soult's army. On 16th May in the same year he was commanding an advance party in the pursuit, and came up with the enemy at Salamonde, where he attacked them with his Guards and two guns, drove them out of the town, and used the fires which the French had lighted, for cooking the dinners for his men. In his journal [for an outline of which see Appendix] he speaks in glowing terms of Sir Arthur Wellesley in this short but brilliant campaign.

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At the sanguinary contest of Talavera, 18th July 1809, Henry MacKinnon, now promoted to a colonelcy had two horses shot under him and received five balls in his cloak which he himself relates that he found at the conclusion of the action.

Upon the evacuation of the town by the British Army, Sir Arthur Wellesley committed to his charge the care of the sick and wounded, amounting after the action to 5,000 men. His situation however a day or two afterwards became peculiarly embarrassing and required the utmost exercise of judgment to extricate this disabled part of our army from the unprotected state in which it was suddenly left by the unexpected retreat of the Spanish General Cuesta who basely deserted his post.

On this trying occasion in which little honour could be acquired though much difficulty was to be surmounted, Col. MacKinnon executed his arduous task in the most effectual manner which the circumstances would admit. It became absolutely necessary to abandon to the mercy of the enemy such of the sick and wounded as were incapable of proceeding on foot, for a march of 180 miles to Elvas was before them and this over a mountainous and inhospitable region of Spain, exposed to a scorching sun by day, and heavy dews by night. The only office therefore that it was possible for the Colonel to render this devoted part of his charge was by an application to the generosity of the enemy. His correspondence with the commanding officer, to whose power nearly 2,000 British soldiers were to be committed on that occasion evinced an intimate acquaintance with the French character; and the singular humanity with which, as is well-known, the helpless wounded were afterwards treated may in a great measure be attributed to the adroitness with which they were assigned and recommended by MacKinnon.

His fortunate and unexpected preservation of those who were capable of being removed, his feeling and judicious conduct through the whole of a distressing march and in the subsequent superintendence of his charge at Elvas, of which place he was appointed Commandant, was long felt and remembered by those who derived an immediate benefit from his care and exertions; and the Portuguese Governor of the town was so much won and delighted by the whole of his behaviour, as to petition Sir Arthur (now Viscount Wellington) to continue him in the command of the British

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garrison, when his Lordship deemed it expedient to remove him to a more brilliant and useful sphere of action.

Of his own share in the battle of Talavera, MacKinnon preserved no account in the journal already referred to, which he regularly kept; but his courage and skill attracted the notice of his superiors in command as we learn from other sources.

After being relieved of his command at Elvas, he was posted with the guards at Talavera la Real, but in October the rains drove them into Badajoz where the whole Brigade of Guards were quartered in a charity school.

"On 1st November" he says in his Journal, "I started on sick leave for England, went on board the 'Norge' (74 guns) at Lisbon and on the 5th with Mr. Villiers and suite on board, sailed. Ten miles outside the bar a packet met us bringing news of the peace between France and Austria which made me return to Badajoz on 20th. On 29th of the same month I was appointed a Colonel on the Staff and got command of the third brigade, consisting of the 45th Regiment (Sherwood Foresters), the 60th (Royal Rifles) and the 88th (Connaught Rangers).

"On the 30th November I established my head-quarters at Campo Mayor; on 1st December I reviewed the 88th Regiment; on 2nd I went to St. Olaia and reviewed the fifth battalion 60th; on the 4th I went to Salvaterra and reviewed the 45th."

Such is the simple and modest tale of this active soldier, but it is obvious that the promptitude with which he threw up his sick leave on hearing the serious news which followed the Austrian defeat at Wagram and returned to the field of action, could not fail still further to recommend him to the notice of his Commander-in-chief.

Accustomed to consider all the operations of war on the largest scale, and to conduct them with views of general politics, he had predicted, even to the Portuguese whom he had found miserably ignorant on all subjects, that the fate of Portugal was to depend on the occupation of the French armies in other parts of Europe.

When peace therefore was concluded with Austria he knew that the French would prosecute the war in the Peninsula with renewed energy. He foresaw that officers of experience could not then be spared from the army, and that for military talents new



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dangers would afford new opportunities for acquiring that glory which had become the master passion of his soul. It was for him a golden opportunity and he seized it with an avidity which bespoke all the qualities of a commanding genius.

The post which he had obtained was one of local rank and temporary duration only, but it was for him by superior skill and the example of masterly conduct to make it permanent. His friends and those who were conscious of his qualifications to act in a higher sphere for which he was so well prepared, now became naturally solicitous that some favourable opportunity might present itself for a more conspicuous development of his talents than had hitherto been afforded him, when the action with Marshal Massena occurred on the heights of Busaco. In this glorious victory he performed a very prominent part at one of the main points of attack.

British soldiers are such admirable instruments in the hands of every officer who commands them that to repel an enemy on anything like equal terms will scarcely be considered an act of conspicuous ability in the person who directs them; but upon this occasion MacKinnon who though still a Brigadier, on that day held a Major-General's command took his measures with such skill, promptitude and presence of mind as to entitle him to the admiration of those who witnessed and were most competent to appreciate his merits in command. Lord Wellington, immediately after the battle, repaired to MacKinnon's tent to return him his thanks in person. Indeed General MacKinnon's conduct on that most brilliant day will assuredly consign his military character to a lasting fame.

The following is the dry official account in a letter from General Picton to Wellington dated 10th November 1810.

"On the evening of 25th (October) by orders from your Lordship, I occupied that part of the Sierra de Busacos which is immediately connected with the pass of S. Antonio de Cantara, with Colonel MacKinnon's Brigade consisting of the 45th, 74th [which had been added to MacKinnon's command] and 88th Regiments, amounting to about 1,300 rank and file, and with the 9th and 21st Portuguese Regiments. . . . . I detached Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace with the 88th Regiment to take up an intermediate position and communicate with the hill of Busacos and the main body of my Division at the pass of S. Antonio. The troops in the immediate

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neighbourhood of the pass were visited by me on their respective posts by daybreak; and immediately after, Colonel MacKinnon returned from visiting the 88th Regiment and reported that the enemy was collecting in the ravine opposite the position occupied by that Regiment, in consequence of which I immediately detached Major Gwynne of the 45th Regiment with four companies to reinforce that post . . . . . about this period the fire of musketry on the left appearing to increase and draw nearer, I directed Colonel MacKinnon to take the immediate command of the troops at the pass of S. Antonio and rode to the left with the A.A.G. Major Pakenham leaving my A.D.C. Captain Cuthbert and the A.Q.G. Captain Anderdon to bring up as fast as possible one Battalion of the 8th Portuguese and the five remaining companies of the 45th Regiment . . . . not being able to discover any enemy on the ridge to my left, I immediately returned to the Pass of S. Antonio where the firing of musketry and cannon still continued with little apparent abatement. On my arrival I learned from Colonel MacKinnon that the enemy had not been able to make any impression during my absence."

And here is the still drier Despatch of Wellington dated Busaco, 30th September 1810—"The second corps of the French were repulsed before they could reach the top of the ridge by the 74th Regiment under Lieut-Col. Hon. R. Trench and the Brigade of Portuguese Infantry of 9th and 21st Regiments under Col. Champelmond, directed by Col. MacKinnon . . . . in these attacks Col. MacKinnon distinguished himself."

The Colonel's own modest account is to be found in his Journal, see Appendix.

To gain a victory with such a reduced force was no mean achievement and we are not surprised to find him henceforth styled "Major General."

Southey relates that on the retreat to Torres Vedras after the battle of Busaco, General MacKinnon's Brigade passed through Alcobaça and that through his kindness the monks of that place were enabled to save some valuable things, amongst them the pictures of the Popes which they could not have otherwise preserved from the hands of the French.

The next occasion on which his abilities were called into action



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was on the retreat of Massena from Santarem after his failure before the lines of Torres Vedras. During the whole of Lord Wellington's pursuit, the light brigade of the third (or "fighting") division which MacKinnon led was extremely active and continually employed in turning the left flank of the enemy.

It was notably successful at Redinha (12th March 1811) and in attacking and driving the enemy from his position above Foz D'Aronce, three days later. At Guarda also, a fortnight afterwards, the rapid and unexpected movement of his Brigade, at which time General Picton was present, took Massena by surprise whilst employed in observing the approach of the centre column composed of General Campbell's Division, and urged him to a precipitate retreat.

At the desperate battle of Fuentes D'Onor (4th and 5th May) in which Wellington so skilfully defeated a powerful effort of Massena to force his lines and throw in succours to Almeida, Major General MacKinnon was particularly distinguished. The town had been successively taken and retaken on the 4th, had latterly fallen into the possession of the French and was defended by a body of 2,000 troops when MacKinnon on the 5th was directed to attack it. Through a narrow avenue of the town he led the 88th one of the Regiments of his Brigade, in person, in the most heroic manner, assaulted the enemy behind an entrenchment, and drove them with great slaughter from the town of which the British afterwards retained possession till the battle was won.

Here is an excerpt from Wellington's despatch. "The enemy's principal effort was throughout the day directed against Fuentes d'Onoro and notwithstanding that the whole of the sixth *corps d'armée* were at different periods of the day employed to attack this village, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th [2nd Warwickshire] 71st [Highland Light Infantry] and 79th [Cameron Highlanders]. When pressed by the enemy these troops were supported by the 74th [Highlanders] and 1st Battalion 88th [Connaught Rangers], belonging to MacKinnon's Brigade; and on one of these occasions, the 88th with the 71st and 79th Regiments under the command of Major-General MacKinnon, charged the enemy and drove them through the village; the contest in this quarter lasted till night, when our troops still held their post; and from that time the

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enemy have made no fresh attempt on any part of our position. From the great superiority of force to which we have been opposed on this occasion, your Lordship will judge of the conduct of the officers and troops. The actions were partial and very severe, and our loss has been great. The enemy's loss has also been very great and they left 400 killed in the village of Fuentes and we have many prisoners. . . . . I particularly request your attention to the conduct of Major-General MacKinnon."

Picton writing to his uncle General W. Picton says "at this moment the 88th Regiment under Col. Wallace, led by Major-General MacKinnon was ordered to move up in support. This was done in admirable order and they made so overwhelming a charge through the streets that they drove the enemy from the village with immense loss."

We will also quote from the account of an eye-witness and participator in the great struggle. "At this moment" he says "General MacKinnon came up and placing himself beside Wallace and Pakenham, led the attack of the 88th Regiment which soon changed the state of affairs. This battalion advanced with fixed bayonets in columns of sections, left in front, in double quick time, their firelocks at the trail. As it passed down the road leading to the chapel, it was warmly cheered by the troops that lay at each side of the wall, but the soldiers made no reply to this greeting; they were placed in a situation of great distinction and they felt it. [The fate of the whole army depended on this charge]; they were going to fight not only under the eye of their own army and General but also in the view of every soldier in the French army.

"After the success of this brilliant charge, General MacKinnon and a group of mounted officers were behind the chapel wall which was the highest point in the village and consequently much exposed to the enemy's view. This ill-built wall was but a feeble defence against the round shot and it was knocked down in several places and some wide gaps were made in it. The General stood at one of these breaches giving his directions; he attracted the enemy's notice, and they redoubled their fire on this point."

Henry next proceeded with the army under Lord Wellington to the siege of Badajoz but his constitution was unequal to such incessant exertions of body and mind, and exposure to climate

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during the heats of summer in the trenches before that place occasioned a recurrence of a disorder which he had experienced ten years before in Egypt. When therefore the army had removed again to the north, he seized the first moment of tempory inaction to return to England, and after a few weeks' absence and experiencing considerable relief from a change of climate and the use of the Cheltenham waters, he returned to his command in Portugal.

The coming to England of the Major-General on this occasion was in a great measure suggested by a prudent conviction that his active service exposed his life to continual danger, and he had determined therefore to complete some arrangements in his family affairs which he had much at heart.

Thus he would leave his mind wholly unembarrassed with any cares for his personal safety which he was but too prone to risk upon every occasion where his own fearless courage could be supposed to add boldness to those whom he always felt it his duty to inspire with daring intrepidity, as well as to move with skill and conduct.

It was observed by his friends that while in England he felt an extraordinary impatience to return to Portugal lest some opportunity should be lost in which new laurels might be gained.

An interesting anecdote which occurred during this his last visit to his native soil has been preserved by Southey. He relates that it had been the custom of the General's wife who shared in spirit every detail of his glorious career, to plant in his garden a laurel for every action in which her husband was engaged. Just before his final departure she took him into the walk where these shrubs were flourishing, when he observed to her "You will one day have to plant a cypress at the end."

Little did either think how shortly were these prophetic words to be verified!

It was in October 1811 that the General returned to the Peninsular and in his journal (see Appendix) he gives a graphic account of the state of affairs.

We may here give an amusing incident which occurred soon after MacKinnon rejoined his Brigade—now unusually strong, viz., a Portugese Regiment at Alfyates; the 74th and 88th at Aldea de

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Ponte, and the 45th and 60th Regiments at Albergaria, two miles off in Spain.

An officer of the 88th relates it. "At an inspection of the men's kits by General MacKinnon he found fault and deservedly so, I must admit, with the scanty manner in which some of the men of my company were supplied.

"The General was too much of a gentleman to row or call names, but it was clear from his manner that he was far from satisfied with the wardrobes displayed by these fellows.

"At last, coming to a 'boy' named Darby Rooney whose knapsack was what a Frenchman would term *vide* or to speak more intelligibly one that contained nothing whatever but his watch-coat, a piece of pipe-clay and a button brush, he seemed thunderstruck as well he might for he could 'ne'er have looked upon its like before.' With more asperity of manner than he had ever been observed to make use of, he asked Darby to whose squad he belonged. The said Darby understood about as much English as enabled him to get over a parade tolerably, but a conversation such as the General was about to hold with him was quite beyond his capacity, and he began to feel a little confused at the prospect of a *tête à tête* with his General. 'Squidha, squodha, caddershe, vourneen?' (what does he say, honey?) said he turning to the orderly sergeant. Pat Gafney, the dignitary appealed to, who did not himself speak the English language quite so correctly as Lindley Murray, replied 'Whist, ye bostoon' (hold your tongue, you booby) 'and don't make a baste of yourself before the General.' 'Why' said General MacKinnon, 'I believe he doesn't understand me!' 'No sir,' replied Gafney, 'he don't know what your honour manes!' The General passed on taking it for granted that the man had never heard of a squad and, making some gentlemanlike remarks on the utility of such partitions of a company, expressed himself satisfied with the appearance of the regiment and our inspection ended with credit to us, this solitary instance excepted.

"The joke about Darby's wardrobe, and the conversation that took place between him and General MacKinnon, was circulated throughout the army, and there was not one regiment unacquainted with the circumstance; indeed so general was its circulation, that it reached the Head-quarters of Lord Wellington himself, and if report spoke truly, it caused his lordship to laugh heartily."

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An anecdote by the way, of Picton which incidentally testifies to the character of MacKinnon must not be omitted. Two soldiers of the 88th were brought before Picton as he was concluding his first inspection of the Division to which he had recently been appointed. A drum-head court martial found them guilty of marauding, and Picton had them flogged in his own presence and that of the whole Division; then turning to the 88th he said "you are not known in the army by the name of Connaught Rangers, but by the name of Connaught Footpads." He also made some remarks on their country and religion. Language like this was likely to exasperate the lowest soldier, equally with the Colonel who had done so much for the Regiment during his command and Colonel Wallace directly parade was over, waited on General Mackinnon who commanded the Brigade and requested that he would go to General Picton and intimate to him that he conceived the abusive language which he had made use of toward the 88th was not just to the corps or to himself as commanding officer of it.

"MacKinnon was a strict disciplinarian but a man of an extremely mild temper and he felt greatly annoyed at what had taken place. He readily complied with Colonel Wallace's request, and received for answer from Picton that he would remove those impressions when he again had the opportunity of assembling the Division. A long period elapsed before the Division was again brought together and when it was, Picton neglected or perhaps forgot to fulfil the promise he had made. Immediately after the parade, Wallace reminded General MacKinnon of what had before passed on the subject, and MacKinnon for the second time waited on Picton. The latter requested that Wallace should call on him which was immediately complied with and then took place that memorable interview which led to the apology made hy Picton to Wallace."

The constant desire which was remarked in MacKinnon to find opportunities for the exercise of his military talents was at length too fatally gratified.

In the beginning of the year 1812 he was ordered with his brigade to take a principal part in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. On 11th January, Picton's Division relieved the fourth Division in the renches after a march of eleven miles, and on the night of the

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19th January, two breaches having been made in the walls of the fortress, a general assault was ordered.

A short time previous to the attack which commenced a few minutes before 7 p.m., Henry MacKinnon was employed in writing with the greatest ease and composure on some familiar subjects to his friends; and his spirits were remarked by those near him to be uncommonly good—a circumstance of the greatest importance at the impending crisis when all the faculties of his soul, it might naturally be expected, were to be called into action, and which alone could secure a perfect scope to the exertions of his mind.

His directions were, to attack the principal breach in the centre of the walls of Ciudad Rodrigo; and precisely at 7 p.m. by the light of the moon, the column consisting of the 45th, 74th and 88th Regiments which he commanded, rushed out of the second parallel to the assault under a tremendous fire from the enemy, exhibiting to that part of the army not engaged a sight most awful and sublime. The breach which he attacked was found sufficiently large to admit of at least one hundred men abreast, but the enemy had attempted to cut off its communication with the ramparts by throwing up a parapet on the left and by cutting down the rampart on the right—an object however which for want of time they had not efficiently accomplished.

When the head of the column had reached the ditch some delay was occasioned by a deficiency in the number of scaling ladders which though quickly rectified, afforded an opportunity for the assailants on the left to attack the enemy on the ramparts, and the columns on the right to co-operate in assaulting the breach. On reaching the summit a grand mine was sprung and a few minutes after a smaller one, though fortunately with little effect or injury to our troops.

General MacKinnon having in the most gallant manner completely secured the possession of the breach and finding no furthur opposition from the enemy in that quarter, ordered the 88th Regiment to the right on the ramparts and proceeded himself with the 74th to the left. On clambering over the parapet just described which had been raised as an obstruction to any communication with the ramparts, a magazine belonging to the enemy blew up near the breach.

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The voice of the General had been heard just previous to the explosion by his aide-de-camp Captain Call who immediately afterwards received Ensign Beresford in his arms and was informed by him that the General had that instant been blown up.

General MacKinnon, it is to be presumed, was close to the Ensign at the time, as when his brigade divided on the breach to proceed to the right and left, he was heard to say to Ensign Beresford, "Come Beresford, you are a fine lad, we will go together." He was supposed however during the whole night to be living and his body was not discovered until the next morning scorched and scarcely recognisable. It was first interred by some pioneers under the order of General Picton, in the breach, but was afterwards removed* by the officers of the Coldstream Guards his old corps and buried in the market place of Espeja where the Regiment was then quartered, with military honours and the highest marks of attachment to a lamented friend from that distinguished corps.

Such in substance is the account given in the "Royal Military Panorama" at that time and it was, we believe, a journal of high authority. To show however how difficult it is to get at the exact truth especially in scences such as that of a night attack; Maxwell in his "Peninsular Sketches" says "I saw General MacKinnon lying dead. He was on his back just under the rampart on the inside, that is, on the town side. He had, I think, rushed forward and fallen down the perpendicular wall before spoken of, probably at the moment of receiving his mortal wound. He was stripped of everything, except his shirt and blue pantaloons; even his boots were taken off. He was a tall thin man. There were no others dead near him, and he was not on the French side of the traverse neither.

"It is said that he was blown up. I should say decidedly not. There was no appearance indicating that such had been his fate. Neither his skin nor the posture in which he was lying led me to think it. When a man is blown up, his hands and face I should think could not escape. I never saw any whose face was not

* The scene has recently been made the subject of a spirited picture by R. Caton Woodville R.I. in his series of "Battles of the British Army." It is entitled "The Storming or Ciudad Rodrigo—Officers carrying the body of General MacKinnon through a breach into the town."

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scorched. MacKinnon's was pale and free from the marks of fire. How strange, but with the exception of the General, I did not see a man of the Third Division who had been stripped! neither was there any officer among the dead, or else they had been carried away. I should not wonder, if it is not uncharitable, that the General had been killed with all the others between the traverses and that some *tender-hearted* soldier had taken his clothes off and then just given him a hand over the wall and so placed him in the position described."

This seems to me a confused account. The author says he thinks the General fell down the wall on receiving the *mortal wound.* Why then does he not describe the wound if there were one and set the question at rest?

The following information is by an officer in MacKinnon's own brigade:—"It appears that it was the wish of General MacKinnon to confer a mark of distinction upon the 88th Regiment and as it was one of the last acts of his life I shall mention it. He sent for Major Thompson who commanded the battalion, and told him it was his wish to have the forlorn hope of the grand breach led on by a subaltern of the 88th Regiment, adding at the same time that in the event of his surviving he should be recommended for a company. The Major acknowledged this mark of the General's favour, and left him folding up some letters he had been writing to his friends in England. This was about twenty minutes before the attack on the breaches. Major Thompson having called his officers together, briefly told them the wishes of their General; he was about to proceed, when Lieut. Mackie (the senior subaltern) immediately stepped forward and dropping his sword said 'Major Thompson, I am ready for that service.' 'God bless you, my boy,' said Thompson and then conquering an emotion (for Mackie was his fellow townsman, and they had fought together for many years) resumed his former composure and drawing himself up, gave the word 'Gentlemen, fall in;' and at this moment Generals Picton and MacKinnon, accompanied by their respective staffs, made their appearance amongst us, and dismounting from their horses, placed themselves at the head of the right brigade, and the troops rapidly entered the trenches in sections, right in

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front. . . . . The place where General MacKinnon fell was easily distinguishable, the vast chasm which the spot presented resembling an excavation in the midst of a quarry . . . During the four years and half that Picton commanded the third division not one officer of the 88th was ever promoted through his recommendation, and Mackie, notwithstanding the promise of General MacKinnon which ought to have been held sacred, and notwithstanding the gallantry with which he led on the forlorn hope, was altogether passed over by Picton."

A more pleasing recollection of that General is however afforded to us in the Division Order which he issued from Zamara next day. "Every officer and soldier of the Division will join the Lieutenant-General in heart-felt sorrow for the loss of that able, gallant and illustrous officer, Major-General MacKinnon, who fell in the moment of victory, covered with laurels."

Wellington's despatch dated from Gallegos on the same day, thus qnaintly records his death. "Major-General MacKinnon was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's expense magazines close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the attack. The conduct of all parts of the third division in the operations which they performed with so much gallantry and exactness on the evening of the 19th in the dark, afford the strongest proof of the abilities of Lieutenant-General Picton and Major-General MacKinnon by whom they were directed and led." With the despatch went the following letter to Lord Aylmer. "My dear Lord,—your brother-in-law General MacKinnon was unfortunately blown up by one of the enemy's expense magazines on the ramparts of Ciudad Rodrigo after he had led the storm of the breach by his Brigade. I have recommended his widow and children if he has any to Mr. Perceval; and I have informed him that measures should be taken to apprise him of the state of the circumstances in which they have been left. You must perform this task, and wait upon Mr. Perceval, and tell him that you do so by my desire."—(signed) Wellington.

We cannot resist giving the graphic account of the assault which flowed from the lively pen of Charles Lever in his "Charles O'Malley." He writes "The deep-toned bell of the Cathedral of

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Ciudad Rodrigo tolled seven, and scarcely were its notes dying away in the distance, when the march of the columns was heard stealing along the ground. A low murmuring whisper rang along the advanced files of the forlorn hope; stocks were loosened, packs and knapsacks were thrown to the ground; each man pressed his cap more firmly down upon his brow and with lips compressed and stedfast eye waited for the word to move. It came at last; the word 'march' passed in whispers from rank to rank and the dark mass moved on. What a moment was that as we advanced to the foot of the breach! The consciousness that at the same instant from different points of that vast plain, similar parties were moving on; the feeling that at a word the flame of the artillery and the flash of steel would spring from that dense cloud and death and carnage in every shape our imagination can conceive, be dealt on all sides; the hurried fitful thought of home, the years long past compressed into one minute's space, the last adieu of all we've loved, mingling with the muttered prayer to heaven, while high above all the deep pervading sense that earth has no temptation strong enough to turn us from that path whose ending must be a sepulchre!

"Each heart was too full for words. We followed noiselessly along the turf, the dark figure of our leader (Major-General Henry MacKinnon) guiding us through the gloom. On arriving at the ditch, the party with the ladders moved to the front. Already some hay-packs were thrown in and the forlorn hope sprung forward. All was as silent as the grave. 'Quietly, my men, quietly' said MacKinnon, 'don't press.'

"Scarcely had he spoken when a musket whose charge contrary to orders had not been drawn, went off. The whizzing bullet could not have struck the wall when suddenly a bright flame burst forth from the ramparts, and shot upwards towards the sky. For an instant the whole scene before us was bright as noon-day. On one side the dark ranks and glistening bayonets of the enemy; on the other the red uniforms of the British columns: compressed like some solid wall they stretched along the plain.

"A deafening roll of musketry from the extreme right announced that the rest of the 3rd Division was already in action while the loud cry of our leader, MacKinnon, as he spang into the trench, summoned

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us to the charge. The leading sections not waiting for the ladders jumped down, others pressing rapidly behind them when a loud rumbling thunder crept along the earth, a hissing crackling noise followed, and from the dark ditch a forked and livid lightning burst like a flame from a volcano, and a mine exploded. Hundreds of shells and grenades scattered along the ground were ignited at the same moment, and every man of the leading company of stormers was blown to pieces. The British springing over the dead and dying, bounded like bloodhounds on their prey. A few moments and an explosion louder than the loudest thunder shook the air—the rent and torn ramparts sprang into the sky; the conquering and conquered were alike the victims; for one of the great expense magazines had been ignited by a shell; the black smoke streaked with a lurid flame, hung above the dead and dying. The artillery and the murderous musketry were stilled, paralysed as it were, by the ruin and devastation before them; both sides stood leaning upon their arms. The pause was but momentary; the cries of wounded comrades called upon their hearts. A fierce burst of vengeance rent the air. The British closed npon the foe; for one instant they were met; the next, the bayonets gleamed upon the ramparts and Ciudad Rodrigo was won."

In a letter from General Picton to Colonel Pleydell he says "Major-General MacKinnon's right brigade consisting of 45th, 74th, 88th and five companies of the 60th took the lead. . . . . My poor friend Major-General MacKinnon a most gallant, intelligent officer and estimable man, was killed by an explosion on the breach."

In a Note by the Author of "The Memoirs of Sir Thomas Picton" we find as follows:

"Major-General MacKinnon had been an intimate and esteemed friend of General Picton, and his death caused him much concern. After the tumult was over and discipline again restored, his remains were found; when Picton, after having taken a last look at them, calling to some pioneers bade them prepare a grave in the breach. This breach had been won by the gallant deceased and a better or nobler tomb could not have been selected; and Picton appeared to take a melancholy pleasure in thus paying a last tribute to the remains of his friend. It was a soldier's fitting resting-place,

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and many a brave heart was buried there; but the body was afterwards removed to Espeja, where it was again interred with military honours. By Lord Wellington's orders General Craufurd was also buried in the breach which *he* had won and no false notions or mistaken regard of friends disturbed the remains of that intrepid soldier."

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Such was the fate of this valuable and accomplished officer. Of his professional talents the foregoing memorial may furnish some conception.

With the high fortune to which his acquirements and natural talents seemed to have destined him, his ambition was commensurate and nothing would have diverted him from the pursuit of his great purposes but alas! that fatal demonstration, "the paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Yet his friends while they lamented his death, could never forget how great had been their own loss, nor would it perhaps be the lauguage of flattery to pronounce in one sentence a panegyric which considering the accomplished state of the service at the time, nothing but the highest pretensions could justify, that he was an officer of the *greatest* promise in the English army.

In private life the General was in the highest degree estimable. His person was tall, graceful and manly, and his cast of countenance dignified, animated and so singularly expressive, as to arrest the attention of almost everyone who beheld him. He was mild, amiable and candid in his disposition, temperate and regular in his habits; constant in his attachments; kind in all his affections; and remarkable for his modesty, beneficence and equanimity.

In all his engagements he was most fortunate, never having suffered defeat and never having received a wound. He seldom omitted writing to his mother at every opportunity, and had been known to pen a letter after being sixteen hours on horseback, from his saddle, or even under a hedge, on the line of march to inform her of his welfare. To his family his loss was truly irreparable. He was a most affectionate son, brother, husband and parent. His attainments in literature were considerable. He was well-read in classics, was thoroughly skilled in French, more than superficially acquainted with German and had acquired

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some knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese. In all the branches of military education, his learning was profound; he had studied mathematics with care and was acquainted with the principles and theory of engineering. To all these he added a refined taste and was not without a competent knowledge in the modern sciences of chemistry and mineralogy. It was indeed among his constant amusements to collect specimens wherever he went for a small cabinet. His enthusiasm for letters may be estimated by the following anecdote. On the retreat to Torres Vedras, the monks of Coimbra, for his activity in preserving their property, offered him as a present anything of the remaining treasures that the convent could supply. He examined their library which had been in a great measure destroyed by the enemy to light their fires, and found there an ancient M.S. of Josephus, which he requested as the only reward for his protection.

Southey in his "History of the Peninsular War" thus concludes his account of the great assault:—

"In Craufurd, the army has lost one of its most experienced officers, in MacKinnon one of the greatest promise in whom were united all the personal accomplishments, intellectual endowments and moral virtues which in their union constitute the character of a perfect soldier. He was one of those men whom the dreadful discipline of war renders only more considerate for others, more regardless of themselves, more alive to the sentiments and duties of humanity. *Perhaps this country has never sustained so great a loss since the death of Sir Philip Sidney.*"

The same author in a letter to C. W. W. Wynn, dated Keswick 12th March 1813, says, "I have just got General MacKinnon's journal—never was anything more faithful than his account of the country and the people. We have, I fear, few such men in the British Army. I knew a sister of his well some years ago and I should rejoice to meet with her again, for she was one of the cleverest women I ever knew. When they lived in France, Bonaparte was a frequent visitor at the mother's house. MacKinnon would have made a great man. His remarks upon a want of subordination and proper regulations in our army are well worthy of Lord Wellington's consideration."

A grateful country voted him a monument in St. Paul's

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Cathedral and Government bestowed an honourable pension on his widow and sons. John Prince Smith composed the lines inserted below for the monument, but the "Committee of Taste" decided that all inscriptions should be in prose so the said lines were never inserted. They then gave Generals Crauford and MacKinnon only one tablet between them, while officers of much inferior rank have huge monuments erected to their memory, and finally placed the tablet at such a height that it is difficult to see it at all.

The lines are headed by the stanza from "Gray's Elegy."

"Can storied urn or animated bust,
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honour's voice provoke the silent dust?
Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death?"

---

"No!—this sad pile MacKinnon's worth records;
Here grateful nations heap their last rewards!
Empty this tomb; Fame's laurel-wreath enfolds
Her deathless scroll; no worm-fed corse it holds!

"With ardent glory was the hero fired;
He stormed Rodrigo; conquered; and expired.
No ling'ring shaft of death his fate delayed,
Nor by faint throbs his vigorous frame decayed;
Borne on the wings of glory and of fame,
A mine exploding wrap't his soul in flame!
Elated valour felt no mortal pains,
Devouring glory left no frail remains;
Nor friend nor soldier view'd his death-struck form,
Glory seiz'd all; Earth buried in the storm.

"Yet did fond Friendship o'er his mem'ry weep,
And war-worn comrades start amid their sleep;
And greet and bless MacKinnon for the day,
Won by his prowess, prompt to guide their way!

"Yet their great Chieftain shortened still his rest,
While deep regret his anxious heart oppres't;
Grief for the hero who his danger shared;
His skill so aided, half his labours spared;
Grief from the man whom Talavera's field,
Busaco's height's, Fame's ample harvest yield;
Whose skill and worth on every height were tried,
And every plain by war's red glories dyed.



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"Yet have fond friends their tearful sorrows shed,
And aching griefs assail'd the widow's bed;
Yet lisping infants crowd their mother's knee,
To weep her woes amid their childish glee!

"Ah! what avails this witchery of woe!
At this proud pile more generous passions glow!
Here shall his offspring boast his sacred worth;
And at this shrine each noblest hope have birth.
Here his brave sons shall catch their father's flame;
Here ardent youths aspiring burn for fame;
Here dauntless warriors feel, with generous breast,
How sleep the brave by Britain's wishes blest!"

The General left two sons, the eldest George-Henry, born in 1806, was given a commission in the Guards for his father's services and he entered the service as Second-Lieutenant in the Grenadiers June 1824, became Lieutenant in the November following, and in 1826 accompanied his battalion to Lisbon, became captain in 1828 and was appointed aide-de-camp to his uncle, Lieut.-General Lord Aylmer, Governor in Chief and Commander of the Forces in British North America in 1830. Obtaining his Lieut.-Colonelcy in 1840 he proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope in July 1846 and was appointed A.Q.M.G. and Adjutant-General to the Frontier by Sir Peregrine Maitland in January 1847. In the general orders of December that year he was appointed Colonel on the Staff, Commandant and Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria; and in 1848 he was made C.B. for his services in the Kaffir War of 1846-7. The local rank of Colonel in Kaffraria was also conferred on him in the same year.

The following tribute to this gallant officer who merited and obtained the esteem of all parties is quoted from the "Cape Frontier Times" of December 1849. "The present Commandant of British Kaffraria is very highly spoken of in all quarters, as a man admirably adapted for the arduous and difficult office which he fills.

"Simple in his habits, inflexible in his resolves, stern in his deportment, impartial in his administration, he seems qualified by nature to command respect from the savage tribes by whom he is surrounded."

He commanded the Second Division of the forces in the field

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in the Kaffir War of 1851-2, became full Colonel in 1851, Major-General in 1858, was appointed to the Colonelcy of the Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) in 1862—an appointment which he still holds—became Lieut-General in 1865 and General in 1873.

He is still living and is the oldest officer in the British Army having been born in 1806 and having served George IV., William IV. and Victoria for seventy-five years.*

The second son, Donald-Henry-Aylmer, entered the Rifle Brigade by purchase and afterwards exchanged into the 68th Durham Light Infantry. He retired from the Service as Senior Captain and then bought Mulbarton Hall, Norfolk where he resided till his death. He married Barbara third daughter of Christopher Netherwood of Cliffe Hall, Yorkshire and left one daughter, Mary-Louisa-Shielton.

A fitting conclusion to this chapter and memoir will be found in the lines which Robert Southey then Poet Laureate wrote to perpetuate in history the name of the gallant Henry MacKinnon.

"*Eulogium to the memory of Major-General Henry MacKinnon.*"

"Son of an old and honourable house,
Henry MacKinnon from the Hebrides
Drew his descent: but upon English ground
An English mother bore him: Dauphiny
Beheld the blossom of his opening years:
For hoping in that genial clime to save
A child of feebler frame, his parents there
Awhile their sojourn fixed: and thus it chanced
That in that generous season when the heart
Yet from the world is undefiled and pure,
Napoleon Buonaparte was his friend.
The adventurous Corsican like Henry then,
Young, and a stranger in the land of France,
Their frequent and familiar guest became:
Finding a cheerful welcome at all hours,
Kindness, esteem, and in the English youth

* The gallant General died on the 16th of September, 1899 and was buried by me in Norwood Cemetery on the 21st of that month in presence of a large number of relatives and amid many demonstrations of respect. He was the "father" of the United Service Club and had long been known there as "*the* General." He was an acknowledged connoisseur of pictures and was an enthusiastic cricketer, being a regular spectator at Lords up to the last.—ED.

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Quick sympathy of apprehensive mind
And lofty thought heroic. On the way
Of life they parted, not to meet again.
Each followed war: but oh! how differently
Did the two spirits which till then had grown
Even like two fair plants of kindred seed
Develope in that awful element!
For never had benignant Nature showered
More bounteously than on MacKinnon's head
Her choicest gifts. Form, intellect,
Were such as might at once command and win
All hearts:—in all relationships approved,
Son, husband, brother, friend, his life
Was beautiful: and when in tented field
Such as the soldier should be in the sight
Of God and man was he. Poor praise it were,
To speak his worth evinced upon the banks
Of Douro, Talavera's trophied plain,
Buzaco's summit, and what other days *
Many and glorious all, illustrated
His bright career. Worthier of him to say
That in the midst of camps his manly breast
Retained its youthful virtues: that he walked
Through blood and evil uncontaminate:
And that the stern necessity of war
But strengthened with its painful discipline.
Thoughtful compassion in that gentle soul
And feelings such as man should cherish still
For all of women born. He met his death
As at Rodrigo on the breach he stood
Triumphant; to a soldier's wish it came
Instant, and in the arms of victory!
Mothers and maids of Portugal, oh! bring
Your garlands here and strew his grave with flowers,
And the children to his monument
Grey-headed sires, for it is holy ground!—

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* His principal services were Antrim and Ballynahinch in the Irish Rebellion of 1798; the actions of September 19, October 2, 3 and 6, 1799 in North Holland; Aboukir Bay and Alexandria in 1801; Bremen in 1805; Copenhagen in 1807; The Douro, Salamonde and Talavera in 1809; Busaco and the Lines of Torres Vedras in 1810; Redinha, Foz de Ronzes, Guarda and and Fuentes d'Onor in 1811; and finally Cindad Rodrigo in January 1812; besides many smaller engagements.

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For Tenderness and Valour in his heart
As in your own Nunalures had made
Their habitation !—for a dearer life
Never in battle hath been offered up
Since in unhappy hour and in like cause
By Zutphen's walls heroic Sydney fell.
'Tis said that Buonaparte, when he heard
How thus among the multitudes whose blood
Cries out to Heaven upon his guilty head
His early friend had fallen, was touched with grief:
Well might the tyrant shudder as the years
Of innocence within his gloomy soul
A dreadful and accusing vision rose!
He of the imperial and the iron crowns
Might envy well the amaranthine wreath
Which virtue for MacKinnon's head had twined,
While faithful history to the sons of earth
Hands down the bloody record of his deeds
For execration to the end of time,
MacKinnon's name shall for eternity
On high be written in the Book of Life."

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## CHAPTER X.

### WILLIAM ALEXANDER MACKINNON

THE subject of this memoir was nephew to John Daniel and Henry MacKinnon whose lives occupy the two preceding chapters, being the eldest son of the elder brother William who died on his way home from the West Indies at an early age in 1794 * in the lifetime of his father William who on the failure of the elder branch became in 1808 thirty-second Chief of the Clan.

William Alexander was born about the year 1782; was educated at Winchester and proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1804 being classified as Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos. Kaye, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln was Senior Wrangler of this year; and Monk afterwards Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol was 7th Wrangler.

In 1809, on the death of his grandfather William, he became thirty-third Chief of his Clan, and in 1811 took out his patent as Chief. The Patent is duly entered in the records of the Lyon Office at Edinburgh and is granted by Thomas Robert Earl of Kinnoul then Lord Lyon King of Arms.

It is in the usual form narrating the successive generations and marriages up to Lachlan Mòr, describes the Ensigns Armorial (which will be found in the Tree at the beginning of this book), and assigns for supporters on dexter side a lion, on the sinister side a leopard, whereas the last Chief of the elder line had a lion on both sides.

In 1810 William Alexander accompanied Sir Walter Scott in a tour through the Western Highlands. A letter of Sir Walter Scott to Miss Joanna Baillie dated Ulva House 19th July 1810 contains this interesting passage: "Our party was accumulated as follows:

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* His monument on the wall of the north aisle of Bath Abbey says:

To the memory of William MacKinnon, Esqr.
(son of William and whose grandfather William MacKinnon Esqr. lies interred near this)
Born the 24th day of January 1760.
Died the 17th day of June 1794.
His judgment, talents and benevolence were conspicuous.

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Sir George Paul, the great philanthropist, Mrs. Apreece, a distant relation of mine, Hannah MacKenzie, a daughter of our friend Henry, and MacKinnon of MacKinnon, a young gentleman born and bred in England, but nevertheless a Highland Chief. It seems his father had acquired wealth and this young man who now visits the Highlands for the first time, is anxious to buy back some of the family property which was sold long since. Some twenty MacKinnons who happened to live within hearing of our arrival (that is, I suppose, within ten miles of Aros), came posting to see their young Chief, who behaved with great kindness, propriety and liberality.

"Next day we rode across the Isle on Highland ponies, attended by a numerous retinue of gillies, and arrived at the head of the salt water loch called Loch-na-Ceall where Staffa's boats awaited us with colours flying and pipes playing. We proceeded in state to this lonely isle, where our honoured lord has a very comfortable residence, and were received by a discharge of swivels and musketry from his people."

The outcome of this journey, as we have noted elsewhere, was the poem "The Lord of the Isles" which contains several allusions to MacKinnon and his country Strathaird.

Either in consequence of being unable to prevail upon any landlord to part with his estates or because an exorbitant price was asked—I think I remember William Alexander telling me the latter was the case—the Chief invested no money in the repurchase of the patrimony of his forefathers; but in 1823 an interesting letter was addressed to him, to Portswood Park, Hants, which is sufficiently indicative of the reception he would have met with from the tenantry of his Clan. It is dated Tobermory (Mull) 16th July, 1823:—

"The Memorial and Petition of the Subscribers, all Clansmen of MacKinnon.—That it is a matter of deep regret to the memorialists, that the hereditary possessions of MacKinnon should not only be in the hands of strangers, but that your memorialists should be deprived of that countenance and protection which their Chiefs have always showed to their vassals.

"The Chief of MacKinnon of his day, took his seat by the side of the proudest Highland Chiefs, and when disputes arose, he was able to defend and protect the rights of his people, both by his

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personal influence in the country, and those warlike means which the more advanced civilization of the Highlands have now rendered unnecessary.

"Your memorialists turn to a disagreeable contrast, when they find themselves without a Head, without a Councillor, and without that influence which *local* possessions alone can give.

"The present MacKinnon they conceive has as good a right as any to assume that state [*words here defaced*] which is taken by the heads of other Clans. He may have more pleasure or influence elsewhere, but a Highlander never forgets the land of his fathers, and the Chief of the MacKinnons will always recollect that his name and his ancestry originated in the wilds of Skye and Mull.

"You will think that we [*words here defaced*] the usages of ordinary society in addressing you thus, but we are enthusiastic in our attachment to the chief of our name."

The memorial is signed by Roderick, two Lachlans, Charles, two Donalds, four Johns, Duncan, two Malcolms, Hector, Douglas, Niel, Archibald, Dugald, Hugh, Angus and Farquhar—all of the surname MacKinnon.

I am reminded while transcribing this interesting memorial that a document has only recently come to light at least as far as I am concerned which shows the interest the MacKinnons were taking about that period in preserving the unbroken line of their Chiefs. It is dated Strath—23rd January 1816 and says:

"We the undersigned gentlemen do hereby most solemnly declare that we consider William Alexander MacKinnon Esquire of Portswood Park, Southampton as Chief of the name of MacKinnon since the death of the late Charles MacKinnon Esquire of Strathaird and his male issue and that we renounce every other pretender to that honour in consequence of our firm belief that they have no proper or just claim."

"(Signed) Donald MacKinnon now 84 years and presently Minister of the Parish of Strath.

"(Signed) N. MacKinnon of Kilmorie, Strathaird.

"(Signed) John MacKinnon of Musseng aged 82 and blind."

A similar document, doubtless in connection with the above Memorial exists under date Strath, 2nd August 1823 which with the above Minister's signature (who died 1831 in his 100th year)

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bears also the signature of Farquhar MacKinnon of Kyle while he quotes his father John MacKinnon of Kyle in support of his testimony.

It is a matter of great regret that the gallant Chief did not accede to the Tobermory petition, for the leading position which he subsequently took as a statesman would have proved most beneficial to his faithful clansmen.

To pursue his history. In 1819 W. A. MacKinnon entered Parliament as member for Dunwich a borough on the Suffolk coast which was disfranchised by the First Reform Bill of 1832. I do not suppose the disfranchisement much mattered to the good folk of Dunwich for the greater part of it has long since disappeared beneath the waves. But in April 1831 MacKinnon had been elected as member for Lymington in Hants. Hitherto he seems to have been a "silent" member—perhaps because there was not much in connection with his seat to call forth his oratory! However that may be, he soon made up for lost time and delivered what is said to have been his maiden speech, on the census, in July of that year. On Tuesday 20th March 1832 he made his famous speech on the third reading of the Reform Bill; and in the same year he brought forward a measure for partially repealing the Usury Laws which was applied to bills of exchange at a short date.

Before this, in 1828, he had made his *debut* in the literary world by producing a work entitled "The Rise, Progress, and Present State of Public Opinion in England" the object of which as the Preface sets forth was first of all to attempt to ascertain what Public opinion is and secondly to show that of late it had much increased. For further notice of this work which went through several editions and was translated into German, French and Italian see Appendix.

In 1833 he introduced the amended * Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals which passed both houses at a subsequent period. I believe he was the first President of this Society.

In the Parliament of 1833-4, the country was deprived of his services, but in January 1835 he was again returned for Lymington.

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* The supporters of this Bill subscribed for the engraving of his Portrait in full Highland costume. Of this I possess a copy.—ED.

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Always active, he at once brought forward his Bill for altering the Act regulating patents, the registry of designs, &c., the last portion of which passed into law two sessions later, greatly to the satisfaction of all inventors and improvers on inventions.

In 1836 he advocated the consolidation of the turnpike trusts and was made chairman of a committee on the subject; his views were approved of but on account of an enormous debt tolls could not be abolished.

In 1836-7 he spoke forcibly for the establishment of a rural Police.

In 1838 he strenuously advocated the recognition of the permanent possession of Algeria by France.

In 1839 he spoke frequently and urgently on the subject of a Metropolitan Police.

In 1840 he presented a congratulatory address by the MacKinnon Clan to Prince Albert on his becoming Prince Consort. It was as follows:

"To His Royal Highness, Field Marshal Prince Albert."

"We, the members of the Clan MacKinnon residing in the Parish of Strath and Island of Skye, beg leave with all humility to approach your Royal Highness on the occasion of your becoming the Consort of our revered and gracious Sovereign.

"The long line of ancestors whence you are descended, the acts they have performed, the valour they have displayed, and the sound principles they professed, endeared your august name to us even before your Royal Highness' name and character had cemented that love and esteem now so general towards you in the country.

"That you may long enjoy the society of our beloved Queen, that your days may pass in prosperity, and that every happiness may attend you both is the anxious wish of your Royal Highness's most faithful and attached people, the members of the Clan MacKinnon.

"This address to be presented by W. A. MacKinnon, M.P. as Chief of our ancient Clan."

The signatures include J. MacKinnon, Minister of Strath.

A. W. MacKinnon, J.P. and D.H.

Farquhar MacKinnon, Surgeon, J.P.

A. D. MacKinnon.

Alexander MacKinnon, Major H.E.I.C.S.

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A. MacKinnon, Mariner.
John MacKinnon, J.P.
Neil MacKinnon, Preacher of the Gospel.
John MacKinnon, Kilbride.
Hugh Innes MacKinnon, Kyle.
William Alexander MacKinnon, Kilbride.
Alex. MacKinnon, Kyle.
Colin M. MacKinnon, Kilbride.
Godfrey B. MacKinnon, Kilbride.
Hector MacKinnon, D.L. and J.P.
Duncan MacKinnon, Bortine.
Lachlan MacKinnon, Bortine, &c.

There were 238 MacKinnons who signed and it is curious to see the gradation of frequency in the Christian names.

John occurs 53 times, Donald 32, Lachlan 27, Neil 25, Charles 20, Alexander 16, Ewen 12, Hector 11, Angus 8, Roderick 6, William 5, and the remaining twenty-three are Peter, Malcolm, Farquhar, Hugh, Colin, Godfrey, Duncan, James, Matthew, Norman, Œneas, Christopher and Gregor.

"Sent from Skye, May 27th, 1840."

The reply of the Prince Consort to W. A. MacKinnon was dated "Buckingham Palace, 6th June 1840" and was as follows:—

"Sir,—I have to-day had the honour of laying before Prince Albert the congratulatory address from the district of Strath, in the county of Inverness, and I am commanded by his Royal Highness to request that you will accept for yourself, and be good enough to convey to the rest of your clansmen, the expression of His Royal Highness's warm thanks for the gratifying sentiment it contained.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"R. Grosvenor."

"To W. A. MacKinnon, Esq., M.P., Chief of the Clan."

Some years previous to this and during the troubles in Canada, MacKinnon offered the Government of the day to raise a battalion of 1,000 men at his own expense who were to serve a certain number of years in that country and then be provided with and settle upon allotments of land as a reward for their services. This offer was not accepted.

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In 1841 we find the house paying deep attention to MacKinnon's statement on Harbours of Refuge.

In 1842 he was made Chairman of a committee for the improvement of the Health of Towns.

In 1843 he moved for a select committee on the condition of the Channel Harbours.

In 1844 he moved unsuccessfully on the subject of Prison Discipline.

In 1845 he persisted with his Health of Towns Bill, and carried it by a majority of sixteen against the Government.

In 1847-8, he brought out his second work, entitled "History of Civilization and Public Opinion." This book was translated and went through several editions in German, French and Italian. It passed through a third edition in England in an incredibly short space of time.

In 1849 MacKinnon got rid of Smithfield Cattle Market in the teeth of opposition by the Corporation of the City of London; cleansing thereby a veritable Augean stable.

In 1852, his Bill for the Consumption of Smoke was carried through both Houses, though much ridiculed when first suggested.

In July that same year he was defeated for Lymington, but in May 1853 he was elected for Rye, succeeding his eldest son who, curious to relate ultimately gained his father's old seat at Lymington while the Chief's second son succeeded his father on his final retirement from Rye.

In 1854 he took up the cause of Captain M'Clure R.N. the discoverer of the North-West Passage, obtained a committee and a vote of £5,000 for that gallant officer together with a knighthood and on his recommendation a further sum of £5,000 for the crew.

In 1856 he got a committee for "Equitable Councils of Conciliation between Master and Operative."

In 1857 he was re-elected for Rye and spoke with great ability on the Land Tax.

In 1859 he was again elected for Rye and in 1860 accomplished what was probably his most signal success—he threw out the Ministerial Reform Bill.

A cartoon, of which I possess a copy, commemorating this event was largely circulated at the time. It represents a lighted shell

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bearing the words "Reform Bomb 1860" which has been hurled in through a window of the House and is about to descend on the heads of the members.

John Bright is in possession of the house and is at the moment saying "This shell will scatter and confound then!—my next will settle the business." W. A. MacKinnon is represented springing from his seat beside D'Israeli and with outstretched arms interposing "But I'll throw this one out of the House!" Cries of "Bravo, MacKinnon" are emanating from *both* sides of the House. The likenesses of Palmerston and other celebrities of the day are exceedingly good.

In 1862 no less than fifty thousand working men voted him an address with reference to the then existing strikes. After congratulating him for the noble efforts he had made on many occasions to improve the sanitary, social and moral condition of the people and after recapitulating his whole Parliamentary career the address ends with these words:

"We now come to the measure for the welfare of masters and operatives that you are endeavouring to obtain from the Legislature, which may prove as beneficial to the country as any which your talents, judgment and indomitable perseverance have already carried. In conferring benefits on the community, *not one shilling of the public money* have you ever received! Your conduct has been guided by a steady desire to promote the welfare of all classes and to keep pace in legislation with the spirit and improvement of the age; all for others, nothing for yourself or family!! Our gratitude is mixed with admiration, and in requesting you to accept our warmest thanks, we will express our hopes that you may long enjoy that respect and goodwill so justly your due, and that others may be induced to follow your example, &c."

With the session of 1865 MacKinnon's long parliamentary career extending over forty-six years came to a close and he retired from public life. He had been a moderate Conservative supporting Sir Robert Peel and after that statesman's death he gave an independent support to Lord Palmerston. When Mr. Gladstone came into power he felt he could not give an adherence to that gentleman's policy.

During the whole of his service in the House of Commons

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MacKinnon had never sought office. Twice he had been designated for a peerage which under Sir Robert Peel's administration he was about to obtain, but that statesman's death occurred before a patent was made out. Under Lord Palmerston the offer was renewed but on conditions which he refused to accept.

Simple and frugal in his habits, MacKinnon's ears were ever open to cases of real distress, and he once informed us that he expended annually £1,000 in charity; his hospitality was proverbial, and his cheerful and genial manners rendered his house a popular and agreeable resort to his extensive acquaintance. Literary men and the popular characters of the day met frequently at his table where the most interesting subjects of the hour were freely discussed.

Amongst the guests staying at the house the following names occur:—Lord St. Leonards (Lord Chancellor), Sir Fitzroy Kelly (Chief Baron) the Duke of Wellington, Panizzi, Admiral the Earl of Dundonald (Cochrane of naval fame), Duke de Gramont the French statesman, Roebuck, Tennyson D'Eyncourt, Sir George Duckett, Sir Alexander Cockburn, Milner Gibson, Isaac Butt, Lord Lytton (the author), Agnes Strickland, Lady Morgan, Jane Porter and Lady Macnaghten.

Active habits were the means, humanly speaking, of prolonging life to the advanced age which he reached; throughout the year he indulged every morning in a cold plunging bath and walked three or four miles before breakfast which combined with temperate and abstemious habits enabled him to reach eighty-six years of uninterrupted health. I remember his telling me he never had a cold, never took a cab, and never drank a glass of wine without adding a little water; and he passed from life in a quiet sleep without suffering in the summer of 1870 aged 88 years at Belvedere, Broadstairs one of his residences for which he had a great affection.

In 1874, "Belgravia" a London Magazine, conducted by Miss M. E. Braddon, the authoress, contains the following notice of William Alexander MacKinnon in an article by Percy Boyd, entitled "People whom we miss."

In several particulars the statements are erroneous, but I have not altered or corrected them save in a foot-note here and there,

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preferring to leave the picture of the fine old Chief as it was drawn at the time.

"There was a red-brick house" says Boyd, "which I knew well, where a kind welcome awaited me always. It is situated immediately opposite the Marble Arch, and was distinguished by some peculiarities which are worthy of mention. In the season during what are called visiting hours, the door was continually open. Should you enter you saw an old man whose head was white with the accumulated snow of many winters seated in an old leather arm-chair. This was the porter who would receive your card which he placed in a large china bowl full of other paste boards, or hand you the visitors' books, in which you might inscribe your name.

"That house was one of the most hospitable in all London, and the master one of the finest and kindliest of old gentlemen in existence. I can see him now on his way from the House of Commons, with the ruffles of his shirt, the only articles of his attire of which he seemed scrupulously careful, fluttering in the breeze as he passed with a step wonderfully quick and active for his time of life along the shady side of Oxford Street, home to dinner.

"At his hospitable round table you would meet with better men (I do not say much about the wine except that there was plenty of it) than you could find in any house in London. My friend enjoyed the reputation of being very wealthy. He had an estate in Kent, and a country residence not far from Folkestone, where he delighted in seeing his friends. The whole *entourage* was delightfully old. The London porter was there, having left his leathern armchair in town; but the butler was white-headed like his master, and his step seemed so feeble that the guest felt almost inclined to place the old man in his own chair and wait upon him.

"It was a delightful, old fashioned house, covered with roses that mingled with the ivy upon the walls. The park was alive with game. A covey of partridges would come marching up to the open windows of the parlour where we were at breakfast, waiting to be fed by the kind hand of the master. Being a sportsman 'their tameness was shocking to me.' But within the precincts of the spacious demesne not a head of game was ever disturbed; and once when I was in the very act of covering a fine cock pheasant which rose from the copsewood at my feet, the old keeper caught hold of

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my arm, asserting it was as much as his place was worth to allow a shot to be fired within those sacred precincts.

"Mr. MacKinnon had long passed the period allotted by the Psalmist to the life of man, but he was hale and vigorous, his eye had not grown dim, nor was his natural strength abated. His habits were so abstemious and hardy (he told me once he never wore a great coat in his life) that I thought he would have lived to be at least 100; and I was shocked to hear of his death which took place only in his * 90th year. He was a remarkable man in many ways. He had lived as I have said through many lustres, and associated with some of the most distinguished men of the time. He knew Lord Byron, Campbell, Rogers, Moore and the rest of their brilliant associates. He represented the Borough of Rye for upwards of † thirty years in the House of Commons; and how it happened that a man of his varied attainments and literary culture did not make his way in public life ‡ I cannot understand. He wrote a work on the history of civilization which passed through several editions, and he was besides, a fluent and ready speaker; but being all his life in affluent circumstances, he probably did not allow his repose to be disturbed by ambitious thoughts.

"Lord Palmerston to whose political fortunes he attached himself, promised him, I believe, a peerage § but ultimately offered to make him a baronet. At this the old gentleman was highly incensed; he was the head of a famous Scotch Clan which had existed long before baronetcies were invented, and he would not sully his ancient lineage by accepting so trumpery a favour at the hands of any Minister. So Lord Palmerston and he parted political company and the death of the Prime Minister not long afterwards, put an end to any further hopes of the honour he had desired being conferred upon him. He soon after threw up his

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* 89th year.

† Eleven for Dunwich, 22 for Lymington, 13 for Rye, with only a few months' interval.

‡ My father often told me that he used always to sit just behind the Ministerial Bench and was invariably listened to with wrapt attention.—Ed.

§ Both Peel and Palmerston offered him a peerage. He refused the latter from a very honourable motive.

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seat in the House of Commons, and abandoned public life altogether."

The rest of this article refers to the famous Colonel "Dan" the Chief's brother and will be inserted in the next chapter.

William Alexander MacKinnon married Emma, only daughter of Joseph Budworth Palmer Esq. of Rush House, Co. Dublin.

*His eldest son* William-Alexander, the present Chief born in 1812, was educated at Westminster and St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1836, and proceeded M.A. in 1845. Next year he married Margaret Sophia, only daughter of Frances Willes Esq.

He sat in Parliament as member for Rye 1852-3, and for Lymington 1857-68. He is a magistrate for Hants, Middlesex and the Liberty of Westminster, J.P. and D.L. for Kent, Lord of the Manor of Acryse and patron of the living.

He succeeded his father as 34th Chief in 1870.

He has two sons: 1. Francis-Alexander born in 1848 educated at Harrow and St. John's College Cambridge who played for his University v. Oxford at Lords in 1870, took his B.A. degree in the same year and entered the East Kent Mounted Rifles from which he retired as Major in 1893. He played for his county (Kent) for many seasons and took part in the very famous match of 1884 when Kent then perhaps the weakest of first-class counties defeated at Canterbury the Australians who had beaten all the English counties in succession. He married Emily-Isabel eldest daughter of Admiral Lord Hood of Avalon and has two sons Alexander-Hood and Arthur-Avalon and one daughter, Aline-Emily-Hood.

2. William-Henry born in 1852 educated at Harrow, entered the Grenadier Guards in 1870 and having held appointments as Assistant Military Secretary to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Malta and Private Secretary to the Governor of Madras became full Colonel and served as Assistant Adjutant-General of the Home District. He married Madeline-Frances daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel Villiers Hatton, Grenadier Guards and has one daughter, Norah-Mary-Fynvola; and two daughters, Caroline-Emma and Sophia-Louisa.

*His second son, Lauchlan-Bellingham* was born in 1815, educated at Westminster and entered the Royal Navy in 1829. In 1842 he married Augusta, daughter of John Entwistle Esq. of



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Foxholes M.P. for Lancashire. The following year he was appointed Lieutenant of the "Alecto" which vessel was dispatched to quell the insurrection in the river Parana, South America; greatly distinguished himself with his rocket battery in the engagements which took place on that river and was promoted to be Commander for his services. An oil painting commemorating the battle exists of which he is the central figure. William Kingston in his "Anecdotes of Sailors" gives a detailed description of his gallant exploits against the Fort of San Lorenzo in which he says "Lieutenant MacKinnon in command of the rocket battery, jumping up on the embankment thoughtless of how he was exposing himself, sung out 'Pepper, lads! Pepper, lads! pepper, pepper, pepper!' and pepper away the men did with a vengeance. The crash was tremendous; the enemy in dismay deserted their guns, and terrific must have been the slaughter amongst them, for in one minute, forty rockets, admirably directed, were poured in upon them." In the Crimean War he commanded a vessel in the Black Sea; was present at the bombardment of Odessa, and co-operated with the land forces at the Battle of Alma, and at the siege of Sebastopol.

Soon after the close of the war he retired as Commander and became Captain in 1857.

In 1865 after a close contest, he was elected M.P. for Rye, succeeding his father, and sat till the death of that Parliament in 1870. In 1868 he made a famous speech on the subject of Ironclads and always spoke well and to the point on naval questions. He was the author of several works "Steam Warfare in the Parana" (1848), "Atlantic and Transatlantic Sketches Afloat and Ashore" (1852), and "A Lighthouse Tour of Lake Superior" (1858) for a further notice of which see Appendix. He died in 1877 having had 1. Lauchlan-Alexander-Entwisle, born 1843 died in the West Indies 1881. 2. John-San Lorenzo born 1844 died a midshipman R.N. in 1862 at Gibraltar. 3. William-Augustus-Daniel born 1846 gazetted Ensign 66th Regiment in 1867, served as Captain in that corps through the Affghan War of 1880 and died as Major of the Regiment in 1888.* 4. Robert - Falkland - Agenor born 1850 and

* A tablet is erected to his memory in the Church of S. Mary, Reading, by his brother officers and sergeants of the 66th (Berkshire) Regiment.

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emigrated to the United States, married Louise daughter of Hon. G. E. Hoskinson of Green Bay, Wis. and has a son and two daughters. 5. Reginald-Mitta born 1851 and emigrated to New Zealand. 6. Duncan-Thomas-Herbert born 1852, emigrated to United States and married Elizabeth daughter of A. M. Little of Menasha, Wis. and has a son and three daughters; and one daughter Ellen-Mary-Esther-Flora.

*His youngest son, Daniel Lionel* was born in 1825, educated at Sandhurst and was gazetted Ensign and Lieutenant by purchase in 1843 to the Coldstream Guards. For the account of this gallant officer we will follow George Ryan in his "Lives of our Heroes of the Crimea." He says "The MacKinnon family is distinguished for having given to the country many brave officers. . . . . The grandfather of the late Lieut.-Colonel MacKinnon was wounded at the siege of Gibraltar,* his great-uncle General MacKinnon was killed at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, while another uncle Col. Dan MacKinnon was wounded at Waterloo [both Guardsmen].

"The gallant officer the subject of this memoir married Charlotte Lavinia daughter of General Sir Dudley Hill G.C.B. who died second in command of the Indian Army in 1851. By her he had 1. Lionel Dudley [who was born in 1850 was educated at Wellington College and became an Ensign in the Coldstream Guards in 1871 served in the Egyptian campaign of 1882, including Tel-el-Kebir and the Suakin Campaign of 1884-5 and retired a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1887 having married Elsie daughter of Colonel Greenhill Gardyne, Coldstream Guards and has issue Kenneth and Lionel-Neil-Alexander and two daughters Sheila-Helen and Olive-Mary. 2. Ernest who died young, and one daughter Ada-Emma].

"The father of Mrs. MacKinnon (Sir Dudley Hill) was as gallant an officer as ever drew sword for England. The husband of this old hero's daughter had not only the reminiscences of the soldiers of his father's family to inspire him with a spirit of emulation; those of a father-in-law were of too glorious a character to be forgotten by an officer of Her Majesty's Guards.

"Lieutenant-Colonel MacKinnon had at Varna suffered severely from a fever and his state of health was so unsatisfactory, that

* This must have been his father-in-law.—Ed.

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when the order for the army to embark for the Crimea was given, despite his entreaties to be allowed to proceed with it, the commanding officer of his Regiment peremptorily directed that he should take command of the invalids. At a subsequent period, however, an order came from the Crimea to Varna, to send without delay all convalescents to the army. Colonel MacKinnon as senior officer had to select those to be sent, and among them he selected himself as fit for duty, though to all observers he was considered more fitted for the hospital than the field, notwithstanding the efforts he made to assume an air of healthiness. This was the spirit that animated all our brave fellows in the hospitals at Varna; many of them when suffering was too palpable to deceive, would not admit themselves to be ill, fearful that they might lose the opportunity of winning distinctions.

"It was Lionel MacKinnon's happiness to have the chance of getting to the Crimea in his own hands, and at once embracing it he embarked at the head of two hundred convalescents for the seat of war. His career before Sebastopol was as brief as it was glorious. After having had his share of the drudgery of a camp life before the enemy's position, the battle of Inkerman gave him that for which he had so longed while invalided at Varna—'a set-to with the Russians.'

"There have been expressed not only by civilians but by officers of distinction in past wars many opinions as to the dilemma in which our troops found themselves on the morning of November 5th 1854, all more or less condemnatory of the manner in which the enemy were allowed to surprise us.

"It will be seen that those animadversions are as strongly entertained, if more cautiously uttered, by our officers engaged in that battle as by those who are nearer home. An officer (not of the Guards) in writing to Colonel MacKinnon's father, observes: 'We had been in the trenches all the night of Saturday November 4th, and were just returned to our tents about 5 a.m., when I was roused from my sleep at 7 a.m.—a cold, dull, foggy morning, scarcely light—by some sharp firing and the drums beating to arms' and the cry of 'Stand to your arms!'

"Immediately I started up, put on my clothes as fast as possible and hurried to join my Regiment now marching off to support our

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pickets which were likely to be driven in. When so advancing, the Guards passed by us and were ordered in front to meet the enemy. I was ordered with my company and another to guard a two-gun battery on our right, where we lay down quietly for some time. Shortly afterwards we were ordered to advance and support the Guards who were engaged under a fearful fire of shot, shell and musketry. We found them fighting like heroes, under fearful odds, and the enemy were in such immense numbers that when one regiment was driven off another was immediately advanced to supply its place; and here I cannot but mention the conduct of the Coldstream Guards which should immortalise their name. They fought literally to the death. They went into action with 15 officers and 400 men, and of this small number they had *eight* officers killed and *five* wounded and lost upwards of *two hundred* men in killed and wounded. It is a singular fact that we had only 8,000 men in the field, and the French force that assisted us did not exceed that number, rather under, so that 15,000 men repulsed 80,000 Russians; the latter left 5,000 dead on the field, and admitting the number of wounded and disabled at 10,000 men, they lost 15,000 men hors de combat, a number about equal to the whole of their opponents. Perhaps in the annals of modern warfare the Battle of Inkerman was the fiercest and most desperate ever fought since artillery has been used. The fire was the hottest in shot, shell and musketry ever known; and at one moment the Russians almost ventured to cross bayonets with our men, but were overthrown and put to flight on the instant. In the hottest of the fire Colonels MacKinnon and Cowell advanced in front of the Coldstreams and fell mortally wounded; in fact it is wonderful how any could escape in so murderous a fire, and how a single man of the Guards ever returned to tell the tale. The enemy, it appears, had brought up some of their heaviest artillery which was served with skill and bravery during the action. Nothing but the cool discipline and courage of our men in the charge with the bayonet could have saved them from utter annihilation, when opposed to such an immense force. When the results of this battle are considered, the great superiority of the English and French over their opponents must be admitted in giving all the praise that is justly due to the self-possession, coolness and

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discipline of our troops whenever engaged. It seems rather a subject of surprise that so little preparation was made by the commanders of the allies for such an attack. We had an enemy's army of 80,000 men within short distance of our encampment; this large army was allowed to advance on us with heavy artillery without the slightest notice given to our commanders or any order given or preparation made whatever. No spies to give notice, no knowledge of the enemy's preparations, no entrenchments thrown up to check any sudden attack, no combined movement or previous understanding of one corps of the allied army being prepared to support the other. The Duke of Wellington had always timely information and a foreknowledge of the enemy's movements."

This officer further on informs Colonel MacKinnon's father that his brave son besides being wounded in the leg had three wounds in the body, one in the face and another in the head. This would lead us to the conclusion that Colonel MacKinnon after being struck down had been butchered by the enemy in the same manner as other defenceless officers in the battle. This conclusion is rendered certain by the fact that after he was carried to the rear, and before chloroform was administered previous to amputation, he was able to tell Surgeon Charles Ricketts of the Coldstream Guards (as also was poor Cowell) that his wounds were caused by thrusts from the enemy's bayonets after he had fallen from the gunshot wound in the thigh. Another eye-witness states, "MacKinnon of the Coldstream Guards, who to my knowledge was ill—too ill to be on duty at all—advanced to the front of his men, flourished his sword, and shouting to them to charge, fell while in the act of waving his cap. He was avenged by his men as also was Colonel Cowell who fell not far from him."

Both MacKinnon and Cowell were in their blue frock coats instead of their red shell jackets and were therefore the more conspicuous. When MacKinnon for the possession of whose body a fierce conflict raged for some minutes between the Russians and the English, was rescued by the latter, he was brought on a stretcher to the surgeons who found it necessary to amputate the leg, removing the thigh-bone but he expired under the operation from exhaustion and loss of blood. Before the chloroform was administered, he was able to articulate to those around him these

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last words, "Write to my father that he may break it to my wife." In the breast pocket of his coatee were found the last three letters he had received from Mrs. MacKinnon. They were dyed with the poor fellow's blood and having been taken charge of by Lord F. Paulet, were forwarded by him to the widow of a soldier whose devotion to his country, proven on that day of Inkerman, entitles him to a front rank in the heroic reputation of victorious Guardsmen.

I believe it is not generally known that just prior to the war Colonel MacKinnon was in Italy on leave and owing to delicate health intended to resign his commission and had actually sent in his papers, when the news of the rupture with Russia reached him and he immediately posted home and demanded that his papers might be recalled which was accordingly granted.

The country erected a tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral to him and the seven other officers of the Coldstreams who fell on that bloody field. The tablet unlike that erected to the memory of his great uncle General Henry MacKinnon, is placed at a reasonable height but in so dark a corner of the sacred edifice that it is difficult to read the inscription thereon and were it not for the tattered colours that overhang it, might easily escape the notice. A monument was also erected to him in the parish church of Acryse in Kent, his father's country seat.

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Of W. A. MacKinnon's *daughters, the eldest, Emma* married Agénor * Duc de Gramont, Ambassador at Vienna and other courts, and finally Minister of Foreign Affairs in M. Ollivier's Cabinet at the out-break of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1. The Duc died in 1880 leaving 1. Agénor Duc de Guiche (now de Gramont) who married firstly Isabelle, Princesse de Beauveau and secondly Marguérite, daughter of Baron Charles de Rothschild; 2. Armand, Duc de Lesparre who married Hélène daughter of Moncey, Duc de Conegliano and grand-daughter of Marshal Moncey of the first Empire. 3. Alfred, Comte de Gramont who married Mdlle. Marguérite Sabatier; and one daughter Corisandre, married to Gaston, Comte de Brigode. The Duchesse de Gramont died in 1891.

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* For a further account of this prominent statesman see Chap. XII.

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*The younger*, *Louisa* married Thomas, 10th Earl of Dundonald (son of the famous Admiral) and has 1. Douglas-MacKinnon-Baillie-Hamilton, who entered the 2nd Life Guards as Cornet in 1870, commanded the Camel Corps in the Soudan Campaign of 1884-5 was present at the actions of Abu-Klea and El Gubat and was created C.B. and M.V.O. He recently commanded the Regiment. He succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his father in 1885 and married Winifred daughter of B. Hesketh Esq. of Gwrych Castle, North Wales. 2. Thomas, formerly an officer in the Scots Guards, M.P. for North Ayrshire, who married Gertrude daughter of George, 6th Earl of Glasgow : and four daughters Louisa, married to Edward 2nd Lord O'Neill, Alice married to George Newton Esq., Esther and Elizabeth.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### "DAN" MACKINNON.

DANIEL known as "Dan" throughout the army in his day, was the second and youngest son of William, and grandson of William 32nd chief of the name and consequently brother of W. A. MacKinnon whose life I have just recorded, and nephew to John-Daniel and Henry whose respective memoirs occupied Chapters VIII. and IX.

It is seldom I should think that two uncles and two nephews or two sets of brothers in succeeding generations, will be found to have occupied such varied prominence in the pages of history as these. John Daniel was a learned counsellor, author and poet; Henry was a renowned soldier and withal a man of letters; William Alexander was an author and statesman of no mean capacity; Daniel, while as gallant a soldier as ever donned uniform, was far more remarkable for his extraordinary agility and powers as an athlete combined with a sense of the ridiculous seldom if ever surpassed. It would be difficult to credit the following account of his deeds were it not that I can assure my readers I have not recorded a *single* anecdote which is not sanctioned by the authority of credible eye-witnesses.

Dan, as we shall always call him, was born on board ship in 1790 when his parents were on their way home from Antigua where his grandfather was the possessor of several estates. Our hero was educated at Marlow College which at that time was devoted to the education of young men for the army as Sandhurst is now. His holidays were mostly spent at Binfield in Berkshire at his grandfather's house Binfield Villa.

At this early period of his life, young Dan began to display that extraordinary activity that afterwards created such a sensation and astonishment in the army and to all those who witnessed his surprising feats. Though naturally endowed with great abilities and quickness to acquire knowledge, he was of too mercurial a temperament during his youth to possess much application. It was therefore marvellous how great was his knowledge in a general way, and in

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after life he fully proved his literary capabilities by the production of the history of his Regiment, the Coldstream Guards, at a time when all commanding officers of Regiments were called upon by William IV. to write the origin and history of the corps to which they belonged. This was done in a brief and cursory manner by (I believe) most commanding officers, but Colonel MacKinnon, after long study and great research, produced two thick volumes in which he detailed not only the minutest particulars of the Coldstream Guards from its origin, including designs of all medals and distinctions worn by them, but also gave a very comprehensive history of the political state of England and other countries during the wars in which that corps was engaged since its formation in 1650, and thus his book has proved to be useful for general reference and instruction. [For further notice of this work see Appendix.]

Lest he should be too idle during the holidays at Binfield, his grandfather used to make him read to him after dinner out of the history of England which was a sad trial to Dan, but knowing that the reading soon sent his grandfather to sleep, as soon as he saw him safe and sound in his arm chair, he quietly stole out of the room to seek for mischief or some adventure—generally to cut lead off the roof of the house to make bullets—but knowing the usual length of the old gentleman's nap, always got back just in time to be present when he awoke. "Well, Dan, have you finished?" said the old Chief (for so he was always called by his immediate family though he did not become actual Chief of the Clan till 1808 the year before his death). "Yes, sir" was the reply, "I have just finished my two chapters." "Ah! that will do then, my boy, you may go."

On one of these occasions he succeeded in robbing some rooks' nests, hitherto supposed to be impracticable, which had baffled the skill of every urchin in the village, for the trunks of the trees were very lofty and devoid of branches till quite at the top and then the stem took a peculiar bend of nearly half a circle, at the extremity of which these cunning birds poised their nests. My uncle the late Captain Edmund MacKinnon told me he remembered the trees well and had often wondered how any living being without wings could have dared to make the attempt.

At the age of 14, Dan got the promise of a commission in the Guards, probably through the interest of his uncle General

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Henry MacKinnon, then an officer in the Coldstreams, and whose skill, bravery and military talents were the admiration of all who knew him, and were appreciated by none more than Wellington himself at a subsequent period for he promoted him to be one of his "overalls" as they were called *i.e.* officers who were raised to the command of a brigade sooner than their seniority entitled them, but whose military genius recommended them to a post of importance.

John Daniel, General Henry's brother, who was Dan's guardian, often told his son Edmund that his nephew was at that age so small and insignificant in figure that when he had to be presented to the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, on appointment, he was obliged to have his coat padded and an inch put on the heels of his boots for fear of his being rejected, but that his engaging manner and confident bearing made so good an impression on H.R.H. that in spite of his diminutive appearance he was well received and shortly afterwards, on 16th January 1804, he was gazetted to the Coldstream Guards before he was fifteen years of age.

As a proof of Dan's light weight at this time, I may mention a fact which his elder brother William Alexander (afterwards Chief of the Clan) related of him. The battalion of the Coldstreams to which Dan belonged was then quartered in London. He had been taking a ride in Hyde Park and as he came out at Stanhope Gate (where some people may still remember, on the opposite side of Park Lane, there was then a low wall that came almost to a point enclosing a grass plot in the grounds belonging to what is now Holford House) on his little pony, he leaped his steed into the enclosure and the animal was, I suppose, so delighted with the green pasture that no effort of his rider could induce him to leap out again. Just at that moment a couple of Grenadiers of his Regiment happened to be passing and when they saw their officer in a dilemma, they stepped over the wall and without allowing him to dismount, lifted pony and officer together over it and landed them safe in Park Lane again!

It is remarkable that though so unusually small at the time of his entering the army, when he grew to manhood he was considerably above the average height and the campaigns he went through in Spain instead of wearing his constitution and entailing the usual ill effects that the hardships and privations of a soldier's life produced on most of the officers, only seemed to invigorate and improve

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him, and when his cousin Edmund saw him some seven or eight years after the peace, he was one of the handsomest men of his day. His figure was perfect symmetry; he had a threatening and commanding eye, but nevertheless be was in temper most good natured and was of an undaunted courage, or he could neither have attempted what he achieved in the field nor ventured on his surprising feats of agility.

While still quartered in London, he startled the metropolis with his performances, several of which have been fortunately preserved to us.

On one occasion seeing a hackney coach rumbling along he jumped through the window into it unperceived by the driver, and after proceeding a little way holloaed out of the window to the coachman, "What are you about, sir? Why don't you take me straight to 29 Swallow Street as I directed?" "I beg your pardon," says the Jehu, "I did not see you get in, sir." He then drove as directed towards Swallow Street (which is now Regent Street). Having gone a few hundred yards, Dan sprang out again into the street, and when the coach reached 29 coachee opened the door and let down the steps, but the coach was empty! The man then turned over the cushions, looked under the seat and examined the pockets, but could find no one. His face was all astonishment, so having shaken and scratched his head he got on to his box and drove off again once more. Dan, however, who had been watching him unseen, when the coach had gone a little way, jumped in again and shouted once more to the bewildered driver, "Why you have driven past No. 29; what are you about? Turn back, sir, and put me down." The poor fellow was speechless with astonishment and mechanically turned his wretched jade slowly round, and driving once more to No. 29, let his mysterious passenger out. "Well, old boy, what's your fare?" demanded Dan. "Oh! not a farthing will I have from you" says poor coachee, "for if you are not the devil you must be one of his imps for certain," and snatching up his reins drives away. Probably Dan was the only man who ever had a drive in a hackney coach the owner of which refused to take his fare!

About this time there had been an attempt made by some young men to cut the bridle off the statue of Charles the First at

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Charing Cross which however the watchmen detected and the culprits were carried off and in consequence an extra watch was set thereabouts in case the frolic should be repeated.

Dan, having heard of this, laid a wager that he would notwithstanding the extra vigilance of the watchmen cut this same bridle off without being caught.

Accordingly he chose a dark night (it was before the introduction of gas), and having easily climbed the tall iron railing which surrounded the statue, he got on to the pedestal when a watchman perceiving his figure by the aid of the dim oil lamps with which the streets were then lighted, just as Dan was about to mount the horse, sprung the rattle carried then as now by the guardians of the night to call attention and get assistance from any comrades who might hear it. The railings were soon surrounded by them, and their lanterns directed to every part of the figure; by and bye they all collected together and one or two managed to get over the railings by the help of their comrades, and when they were all busily searching on one side, a faint rattle was suddenly heard on the other, upon which all rushed to the signal; no sooner had they got round than another mysterious rattle was heard on the opposite side; away they all rushed but in vain; not a glimpse of anyone could be seen. At length, thoroughly tired, they gave up the search for no trace of anything living could be detected. When all was once more perfectly quiet and the "Charlies" had returned to their beats, Dan noiselessly slipped from his hiding-place, cut off the bridle and walked away with his trophy. During most of the time that the search was being conducted, he was perched with his legs round King Charles' neck, his body and arms being bent closely round the head, and in the darkness it looked exactly as if he formed part of the equestrian figure! The rattle which distracted their attention and enabled him the more easily to get into this elevated position, was managed by Dan himself with his hand; an extraordinary accomplishment which his Uncle John Daniel related that he often heard him perform.

His activity at this period of his life had never been equalled or approached by any harlequin or athlete. One feat for which he was much famed was that he would enter a room and run completely round it on the narrow ledge of the old-fashioned skirting boards

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which were about a yard from the ground and little more than two inches wide at the top. My grandmother (Baroness Dimsdale) has often told me that she has witnessed this exploit and that on one occasion he, being invited to a dinner party, entered the drawing room in this fashion and finally throwing a somersault off the skirting board, landed just at the feet of his astonished hostess.

Another accomplishment his uncle John Daniel used to relate as having often witnessed. Dan would place himself back to back with another person and throw a somersault over his head. The same uncle saw him do this with Sir George Nugent who was over six feet in height. Another feat was that he would stand on his head outside a window on the sill at the *third* or *fourth* storey; and perhaps more wonderful still he would fling himself out of a window at that height, and turning round as he went, would hang on to the sill by his *thumbs* upon which he could easily support his whole weight for the muscular power of his hands was immense. My uncle Edmund before referred to told me that he had several times asked athletes who have exhibited their powers on the stage or in a circus if they would try the latter feat, but they all refused to attempt such a performance declaring it to be well-nigh impracticable. I may add that these facts were vouched for as true by General Sir Robert Arbuthnot, once Commander of the N.W. Provinces of Bengal who was a brother officer of Dan and an eye-witness.

On 23rd October 1805, Dan embarked with the 1st Battalion of the Coldstream Guards at Ramsgate and landing at Cuxhaven marched to Bremen for the purpose of co-operating with the Prussians against the French, but the battle of Austerlitz fought on 2nd December of that year, humbled Austria and baffled the hopes of the allies. In consequence of this change in the aspect of affairs, the British troops were withdrawn from Bremen, and the Coldstream Guards without ever coming in sight of the enemy, disembarked at Ramsgate on 23rd February 1806.

In August 1807, Dan once more embarked with his corps, this time from Chatham and arrived in Elsinore Roads on 9th of that month, landed at the village of Welbeck on 16th and marched at once on Copenhagen. While there Dan on more than one occasion was seen to climb to the mast head of one of the line-of-battle ships, and to stand on his head on the *truck* of the main mast! Upon the

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surrender of this city Dan returned with his corps on 20th October and disembarked at Chatham.

We have many records of his merry pranks while here. The gaieties and expenses of garrison life were, I suppose, too much for Dan's somewhat light purse and he was at least on one occasion hard put to it to escape the hounds of the law as the following incident will shew.

One day he was dining on board one of the men-of-war which with a fleet of transports were lying off Chatham when the bailiffs got information where he was and went off to the ship to take him, but the officer of the watch, being well acquainted probably with the "cut of their jib," gave Dan timely notice, so he quietly slipped over the opposite side and swam to the nearest vessel.

As all the captains knew him well, he clambered up unopposed, but the "silver oar" caught sight of him and made for his new retreat; off set Dan for another ship before the enemy could well reach the deck of the former one, and by pursuing these tactics without any signs of exhaustion, he so completely dodged them that they were obliged to give up the chase.

On another occasion when he was invited to dine on board the "Tonnant" he could not get a boat to put him on board on account of the roughness of the weather, but this was not a sufficient reason, he thought, to lose his dinner and appropriating a small boat by the landing place—a sort of model or toy boat made by some sailor—he managed to get on board. After dinner the Captain enquired, "Dan, how did you get here?" "Oh! sir," replied Dan, "I had my own boat." "Your own boat, why I have seen none alongside—officer of the watch where is Captain MacKinnon's boat?" Upon this the Lieutenant of the watch ordered one of the men to bring it and it was placed on the table with the dessert, much to the astonishment and amusement of the whole mess.

It was about this period as related by several of his brother officers that on taking a walk into the country one day when a stiffish breeze was blowing Dan seized the end of one of the sails of a windmill, went completely round with it and alighted safely on his feet when the sail once more approached the ground. I am led to understand on good authority that he performed this feat more than once on other occasions.

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My Uncle Edmund, being on leave in Scotland once, dined with Sir Archibald Christie, who was then residing at Stirling Castle, of which ancient fortress he was Governor—a slight reward for his long service and the severe wounds he had received—in fact he must have been one of the very few men who ever survived after being struck by grapeshot in the head, yet he preserved his spirits to a good old age and told a story in an inimitable fashion. On this particular occasion he regaled Edmund with many of his reminiscences of Dan at the time when the gallant Sir Archibald himself held an important command at Chatham, and the Guards were quartered there. The most amusing perhaps of his reminiscences was as follows :—

Anyone who has driven through the main street of Rochester cannot fail to have remarked a large clock which projects into the street about a couple of yards from the second storey of a house. This prominent object Dan, it appears, laid a bet he would carry off without detection. He accomplished it in the following ingenious manner. Having selected a night favourable to his enterprise he threw a thick rope over the arm of the clock ; to the end of this rope he attached a large and very strong hook and under shelter of a doorway waited patiently for the hour when the Dover waggon should pass slowly along the street ; this immense vehicle was generally heavily laden and drawn by eight horses two abreast ; the driver usually on a little pony rode along side a little in advance of the shaft horses. The moment it passed the spot, Dan was ready with his rope and hook and dexterously fastened the latter to the hind axle of the waggon. This sudden resistance was of course felt by the horses, which could hardly move their load ; the carter seeing this thought his team was getting lazy or sleepy and applied his whip vigorously, shouting and cracking away as hard as he could, when down came the clock and off went waggon and horses dragging the clock with them right through the town, the noise of the eight horses on the paved road and the shouts of the carter preventing his hearing the clock fall or discovering for some time the cause of the unaccountable resistance. There was a frightful row next morning ; all the town authorities were roused to honest and just indignation at the outrage. Inquiries were set on foot in every direction and the Commandant appealed to.

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No one however had been a witness and the author of the catastrophe could never be traced. Yet everyone in barracks had a pretty good suspicion as to who was the delinquent.

On 31st December 1808, Dan sailed with his battalion of the Coldstream Guards from Ramsgate for the Peninsula. The fleet did not get away from our shores till the 15th of January and then encountered a series of contrary and tempestuous winds. On 30th, the ships were dispersed in a tremendous gale when most of the transports took shelter in the Cove of Cork. The expedition sailed again on 25th February and proceeded direct for Cadiz in the hope of securing that important seaport. During the night of 9th March, on returning from Cadiz to Lisbon the "Prince George" with the head-quarters of the Coldstreams on board ran down an American brig the crew of which however with the exception of one man was saved. When the "Isis" came to their assistance she fouled the "Prince George" whose mizen mast was carried away, and as it was supposed the latter must sink, the soldiers and crew were transferred to the "Isis" with the loss in transit of an officer and 2 men.

On arriving off Cadiz, the supreme Junta refused the troops admittance stating as an excuse that the confidence of the Spaniards in their allies was at an end! Major-General Sherbrooke who commanded perceiving that further negotiation would only be attended with loss of time, sailed for the Tagus and the defence of Portugal then became the primary object of Great Britain. The Coldstreams landed on 13th March four days after the mishap described above and were quartered in the barracks of Belem at Lisbon.

Captain Gronow a brother officer of Dan in his well-known "Last Recollections" gives the following amusing reminiscences of him at this period. "Lord Byron and Dan MacKinnon." "During Lord Byron's sojourn at Lisbon, he was much amused with Dan MacKinnon's funny stories. Upon one occasion Dan's time was entirely taken up by presenting women with tooth-brushes, a supply of which he had received by the packet from London. Opposite his quarters there lived two very pretty Portuguese ladies who unmindful of Dan's proximity and of the fact that his window commanded a view of their chamber, dressed, undressed and went



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through their morning ablutions and toilet. Dan's astonishment was great when he perceived that the fair ones never brushed their teeth; and he lost no time in sending his servant with two tooth-brushes in paper, well perfumed and sealed up. The ladies opened the packet and seemed delighted with the present; but judge of MacKinnon's horror in beholding those dainty creatures, perseveringly brushing their raven locks with the tiny brushes!

"Dan MacKinnon was ever in good spirits and good humour and he was a great swell both in Lisbon and London. His calm smile, black eyes, and splendid figure when he strutted in uniform down St. James' Street struck everyone with admiration. He was the most active man I ever saw; he would run, jump and climb against the most expert professional gymnasts."

Robert Chambers in his "Biographical Dictionary of eminent Scotsmen" thus epitomizes Dan's life about this time. He says "Dan now a Lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards was soon appointed aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General Hon. E. Stopford who commanded the Guards and he greatly distinguished himself throughout the terrible and eventful war from 1809 to 1814. The bivouac and mess-table were constantly enlivened with tales of his personal prowess and daring.

"On one occasion his supreme contempt of danger partook of the ludicrous. While our army was passing a defile and debouching from it, there was one spot in which part of the troops were exposed to a very heavy fire. But in this post of peculiar peril Captain MacKinnon was found performing the duties of the toilet, lathering and shaving his chin as coolly as if he had been fifty miles from the scene of action. No sight was better calculated to animate dispirited soldiers—they rushed immediately to the onset and drove the French before them. No wonder that the soldiers loved and were ready to follow an officer who, let the risk be what it might, was ready to encounter or abide his full share.

"During the whole campaign he never adopted a subject of quarrel*; long were the amiable qualities of the gallant Celt affectionately remembered by veteran officers of that war. After

* The duel hereafter recorded was subsequent to Waterloo and with a French officer.—Ed.

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having taken part in every battle from Talavera to Toulouse, the peace of 1814 released MacKinnon from active military duty."

It appears that it was not long before Dan attracted the notice of the Commander-in-Chief and he became a great favourite with the illustrious Duke. Pretty strong proofs have we of this in the next two stories. The first is from the clever pen of Charles Lever who in his "Charles O'Malley or the Irish Dragoon" mentions the following anecdote of Dan which must have occurred at an early period of the war:—"Sir Arthur Wellesley had given the very strictest orders against plundering, but the eccentric Major Monsoon (an assumed name for a well-known character in the Commissariat Department) having on former occasions escaped detection, was at last discovered before the very face of Sir Arthur by the breaking down of one of the Commissariat bullock cars when out rolled among bread, rations and salt beef, an avalanche of precious relics and church ornaments! 'Who commands this detachment?' shouted Sir Arthur. 'Major Monsoon of the Portuguese Brigade, your Excellency.' 'I know him the old rogue —hang him up on the spot' said Sir Arthur and rode leisurely on. Captain Gronow with a party of the Fusilier Guards received orders to carry out the sentence but just at that moment up came Dan MacKinnon, cantering smartly, 'Going to hang old Monsoon, eh, Gronow? What fun!' 'Ain't it though' said Monsoon, half blubbering. 'Well, if you're a good Catholic, you may have your choice of a saint, for by Jupiter! there's a strong muster of them here.'

"'Dan' said Monsoon in a whisper, 'intercede for me—do like a good kind fellow—you have influence with Sir Arthur.' 'You old sinner' said he, 'it's useless.' 'Dan, I'll forgive you the £15——.' 'That you owe *me*,' said Dan laughing. 'Who'll ever be the father to you I have been? Who'll mix your punch with burnt Madeira after I'm gone?' said Monsoon. 'Well really, I am sorry for you, Monsoon—I say, Gronow, don't tuck him up for a few minutes; I'll speak for the old villain and if I succeed I'll wave my handkerchief." Well away went Dan at a full gallop. Gronow sat down on a bank. 'I can only give you five minutes more, Major,' said Gronow, placing his watch beside him on the grass. Monsoon tried to pray a little and said three or four of Solomon's



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proverbs when Gronow called out, 'There! you see it won't do, Sir Arthur is shaking his head.' 'What's that waving yonder?' 'The colours of the 6th Foot—come, Major, off with your stock.' 'Where is Dan now—what is he doing?' for poor Monsoon could see nothing himself. 'He's riding beside Sir Arthur—they all seem laughing.' 'Heaven forgive them! what an awful retrospect this will prove to some of them!' 'Time's up!' said Gronow, jumping up and replacing his watch in his pocket. 'Provost Marshal, be quick now—' 'Eh! what's that?—there! I see it waving! there's a shout too!' 'Ay, by Jove, so it is; well you're saved this time, Major, that's the signal.' "

The other a well authenticated story runs as follows: After a certain victory, Wellington was expected by the authorities to make his entry in state into the town and Dan who knew the time the Commander-in-Chief was likely to reach his destination, took it into his head (being with the advance guard) to personate Wellington and suitably disguising himself fixed a star on his coat. The good people of the town being ignorant of the Duke's figure, received Dan in great state, paying him all the honours they could think of and preparing a splendid repast for the occasion at which Dan and his brother officers sat down and enjoyed themselves; when dinner was over a large bowl of rose-water was placed before the honoured guest, the weather being very hot, upon which Dan rose from his seat and bowing to the company sprang upon the table and stood on his head in the midst of the bowl of rose-water to the utter astonishment of the authorities, who however construed it as an English custom and one by which that nation acknowledged the hospitality they had received. That the Duke heard of it is certain, what he thought of it never transpired—but that he said and did nothing is equally certain and it is probable that he laughed heartily at Dan's impudence. Gronow gives this story in the first series of his "Reminiscences" but describes Dan as landing from leave in England and personating the Duke of York and he makes the Spaniards report in the most intemperate manner the hoax that had been played upon them with the result that he received a severe reprimand from Wellington but was ultimately forgiven.

In the same book Gronow, who it must be remembered was a brother Guardsman with Dan, says "Colonel MacKinnon commonly

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called 'Dan' was an exceedingly well-made man and remarkable for his physical powers in running, jumping, climbing, and such bodily exercises as demanded agility and muscular strength. He used to amuse his friends by creeping over the furniture of a room like a monkey: it was very common for his companions to make bets with him; for example that he would not be able to climb up the ceiling of a room, or scramble over a certain house-top. Grimaldi the famous clown used to say, 'Colonel MacKinnon has only to put on the motley costume, and he would totally eclipse me.' MacKinnon was famous for practical jokes which were however always played in a gentlemanly manner." He then describes the one above and the "Convent" story which we have next to relate.

There are many versions of this story about Dan getting into a convent in Estremadura when the Duke was expected to pay his respects to the Lady Superior. The most truthful way in which the story has been told is perhaps as follows:

He is related to have insinuated himself somehow into the "roundabout," a contrivance in the shape of a cylinder cut in half and turning on a pivot, by means of which provisions were received into the Convent. When the "roundabout" was charged with its contents, a bell was rung and the porteress turned it round. On this occasion instead of the dinner it was expected to contain, a handsome young officer jumped into the arms of an astonished sister on whom he made such a favourable impression that he induced her to lend him one of her dresses which he put on and thus attired, went to the grating where the nuns gave audience to their friends on particular occasions.

The Duke in the meantime had arrived and mistaking Dan for the Lady Abbess advanced to pay his respects, being greatly struck with the beauty of the *religieuse*, who looking very shy and demure timidly held out her hand through the bars a very little way and then drew it back again. The Duke endeavouring to reassure her and to express his admiration and respect, advanced close to the grating a second time when the imaginary Abbess to his astonishment jumped back and stood on her head, and then darting off was just in time to disappear before the real Abbess arrived to receive the Commander-in-Chief. This account adheres faithfully to the narrative which Dan's guardian John Daniel gave of the affair, who

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being as likely as anyone to know of the circumstances, was a man of great gravity of demeanour and by no means inclined to make a good story out of a bad one. Gronow adds the necessary detail that he "shaved his head and whiskers and that he was declared to be one of the best looking among those chaste dames." And he further says "that this adventure was known to Lord Byron and that it was supposed to have suggested a similar episode in 'Don Juan,' the scene being laid in the East."

At Talavera (July 27th and 28th, 1809) his bravery like that of his uncle, Colonel Henry MacKinnon had been conspicuous. It was I believe in this desperate action that his life was saved by Wellington who happened to ride up just as Dan's commanding officer had ordered him to ride over a hill and count the number of the French who were pouring in a tremendous and withering fire in that direction. "No! no!" said Wellington, "that is sending a man to certain death—we must wait for a more favourable opportunity."

Dan though he escaped so many dangers in the field and for the matter of that elsewhere too, was at last attacked with fever and ordered on sick leave to England from 16th August to 31st December 1811. One of the remedies which used to be applied to him was, he himself said, ever present in his memory. Once a day they used to lay him out and throw buckets of cold water over him, but his skin was in such a state of heat that it dried up again almost immediately. The relief however was so delightful that he used to long with the greatest impatience for the hour when they would come to souse him. This severe illness seemed however to be the means of developing his frame and on his arrival in England everyone was struck with his growth and the improvement in his appearance.

After one of the Duke's successes a most ludicrous scene occurred, related to Daniel Henry his cousin by Sir Robert Arbuthnot, a fellow guardsman with Dan, who has been already referred to. A portion of the army was entering the town and as usual on such occasions crowds of citizens accompanied by the authorities and all the men of rank came out to meet and welcome the conquerors. Amongst them was a Spanish Hidalgo of distinguished appearance wearing an enormous *sombrero* and mounted on a handsome showy

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Spanish jennet, swelling with importance and curvetting in front of the troops; at the sight of this important personage Dan could not resist the sudden impulse which seized him and with an active spring he seated himself behind the majestic looking Hidalgo, holding on firmly round his waist, and driving his heels into the gallant "charger." Off they set at full gallop all along the lines of troops, Dan spurring away while the bewildered Spaniard not seeing or conceiving what monster it was that stuck so fast to him, kept struggling in vain to release himself and thus they darted along, the Spaniard bending forward with his sombrero in hand for he was in the act of saluting, till they approached the town when Dan released his victim and jumping off left the infuriated animal to carry his rider the shortest way to his stable.

Gronow has one more anecdote of Dan in his second series which runs as follows:

"A rather amusing story of my old friend Dan MacKinnon of the Guards to whom I have already alluded. He was very good looking and a great favourite with the fair sex; and at the time of which I speak, many many years ago, he was beloved by Miss C——; and ill-natured people said that they loved 'not wisely but too well.' Unfortunately people don't fall simultaneously out of love as they do into it and as generally occurs, the lady proved the most faithful of the pair. When Miss C—— could no longer doubt that she was forsaken, and that some more fortunate rival had taken her place, she wrote a letter full of despair and reproaches with threats of suicide, commanding Dan to send her back the lock of hair which she had given him in happier days &c. The barbarian gave no written answer to this passionate appeal but sent his orderly to the lady (who was a person of high birth and aristocratic connections) with a large packet and portfolio containing innumerable locks of hair from grey to flaxen, from raven to red, with a message that she was to choose from them her own property. Miss C——'s answer was to dash the whole collection into the fire."

I have reserved the following incident to the last for it forms a fitting conclusion to Dan's feats of activity which were considerably curtailed after his Waterloo wound.

The late Sir Thomas Brotherton, Inspector-General of Cavalry and General Churchill, Quarter Master General in India, both

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Guardsmen with Dan, related it to my father and vouched for its truth as they were *eye-witnesses* to the performance. One day before proceeding to the Peninsula, the Coldstream Guards were formed in open column of companies in Hyde Park for drill, Dan's company being No. 2. Arriving on the ground he posted himself at his company *by jumping over the heads of the leading company*!!

I took these words down at the dictation of my late father Major-General Daniel Henry MacKinnon. It is further related that Grimaldi the famous professional athlete was present on the occasion and refused to attempt the feat apprehending the accident that might ensue from the fact that the men's bayonets were *fixed* at the time.

In 1815 after Napoleon's escape from Elba, Dan with a brother officer was on his way to join the army in Belgium, the Coldstream Guards being quartered at Brussels. On reaching Ramsgate, however, they found neither ship nor transport ready to sail, so hiring a lugger they embarked for Ostend and landing there were in time to take part in the operations which preceded the battle of Waterloo. On the afternoon of 16th June the Coldstreams who were at Enghien made a forced march and reached Quatre Bras in time to contribute materially to the success of the desperate battle which raged around that village throughout the day.

With four companies of his regiment Dan now a Lieutenant-Colonel was ordered in support of the First (or Grenadier) Guards.

The troops maintained their ground with firm intrepidity and repulsed at all points the repeated efforts of a large body of cavalry under Marshal Kellerman who made frequent and desperate charges seconded by two *corps d'armée* and a considerable preponderance in artillery. At the close of the day the firing ceased. Marshal Ney then rallied on the heights of Frasnes.

On the 17th June the Coldstreams fell back with the rest of the army and were stationed at Hougomont, which position sustained the whole brunt of Napoleon's first attack under his brother Jerome on the ever-memorable 18th of June.

Dan, who was second in command was of course in the thick of it, and so close to the French that he could hear the reiterated words "L'Empereur récompensera le premier qui avançera." Then came the sound of the *pas de charge*, and 3,000

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men rushed on Hougomont to be received by the calm and steady fire of the British who drove them back with immense slaughter and as soon as the French retired, our men rushed out of the farm buildings and piled up the dead bodies against the gate of the farm-house. Again and again was this tremendous attack repeated by fresh bodies of cavalry as well as infantry supported by a murderous fire from countless batteries of artillery.

It was in one of these desperate charges that Dan was shot in the knee and fell from the third horse which had been killed under him on that eventful day. In falling he lost his sword and was thrown upon the prostrate body of a severely wounded French officer; seizing the Frenchman's sword he asked his permission to use it as he had lost his own and mounting a fourth horse once more appeared at the head of his men. This sword Dan retained and ever afterwards wore on field days and at parades as a fair trophy of Waterloo. It is now in the possession of Mr. Ranald E. E. MacKinnon.

An interesting episode of this very charge was related to Capt. Edmund MacKinnon by an old French General many years ago when he was spending a season at Baden-Baden. He said that he was knocked down but being only stunned he recovered his senses after his surviving comrades had retired and then standing up among the dead and dying around him, he of course expected to be taken prisoner instead of which all the British men and officers when they saw him, gave him three hearty cheers upon which he saluted them with a low bow and quietly walked back to join the corps to which he belonged. The old General mentioned that this incident took place before the gates of Hougomont and that he had to surrender his sword to a British officer who had lost his own in the mélèe.

Percy Boyd in an article before referred to writes: "The name of MacKinnon has traditional claims upon the respect of every inhabitant of the British Empire. It was a Colonel of the Coldstream Guards of that name who closed the gates of Hougomont in the face of Jerome Buonaparte and his myrmidons; and subsequently when some old lady who had more money than she knew what to do with left a handsome legacy to the bravest officer in the army and the executors forwarded the sum to F. M. the Duke of

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Wellington, the Duke forwarded the bequest to MacKinnon * and the Colonel shared it with the Colour-Seargent who had assisted him on that memorable occasion."

Robert Chambers gives the following account of Dan's prowess on the field of Waterloo. After recounting the episode of the sword, he says: "Hougomont was the key of Wellington's position and after the defeat and utter route of the Nassauers who held it, by General Foy, Lieutenant-Colonel MacKinnon with two companies of the Coldstreams and a portion of the Grenadier Guards was thrown into the place and ordered to defend it to the last extremity and well do the records of Waterloo testify how faithfully this command was obeyed. As fast as the French fell back, MacKinnon and his little band sallied from their defences, piled up the dead bodies in front of the door as a rampart and hurried back to their posts as a fresh inundation of steel and fire came sweeping down upon them. At last the farm-house was relieved, and MacKinnon with his party joined the British army now assailants in their turn. But the wound which he had previously received in the knee from a musket shot and which he had disregarded during the whole of the action now occasioned such pain accompanied by loss of blood that having crawled to Mont S. Jean, two miles in the rear, he fainted and was carried off the field in a litter to Brussels." "Thus" adds Chambers "at an early age, the military career of this intrepid soldier was closed by the return of the universal peace having won by his merits a rank which few soldiers so young [he was only in his 26th year at Waterloo] are privileged to occupy. He ultimately succeeded to the command of the two battalions of the Coldstreams."

He only waited in Brussels long enough to have his wound dressed for Colonel Ross of Bladensberg in his recently published "History of the Coldstream Guards" which is a sequel to Dan's states that Colonel MacKinnon commanded the Grenadier company of the 2nd Battalion during the march to Paris and that while there he commanded the 4th and 5th companies. When the "army of occupation" was formed and the allies evacuated Paris, Dan was actually the *last* British officer in Paris for he occupied Mont

* If there is any truth in this story which I have never been able to verify—I think it must refer to Colonel James Macdonell who with the help of one or two others performed that intrepid feat.—Ed.

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Martre on the 26th January 1816 and at the end of the next day marched to Gonesse and thence to Cambrai which was garrisoned by the Guards till 18th November 1818 and embarking at Calais on the 23rd of that month were the *last* British Regiment to quit France. Dan was at first posted with the 3rd and 4th companies at Marcoing and on 23rd April 1816 commanded 200 Grenadiers and Coldstreams who were sent to England.

Percy Boyd says that Dan was a great favourite with the softer sex and that on one occasion when with the army of occupation in Paris he had a note from some interesting lady who was fascinated by the charms of his martial appearance. "Meet me on the ramparts this evening after sunset" were its contents; "you will know me because there will be no other *person* with me except *me little dog.*"

While in Paris he fought his only duel. On the authority of his uncle John Daniel I find that a French officer insulted him one evening in a café and moreover insisted, contrary I believe to the laws of duelling, on the choice of weapons. The French rapier was naturally his selection and Dan fearlessly consented. He was almost unacquainted with the use of this weapon while his adversary like most Frenchmen was dextrous and familiar with it. They met next morning in the Bois de Boulogne, and Dan acting on the advice of a friend and trusting to the immense power of his wrist, commenced and ended the affair with the first thrust and ran his opponent clean through the body.

It being believed that the French officers sought causes of quarrel in the hopes of relieving themselves of some at least of their hated conquerors, the Duke of Wellington issued positive orders that the British officers were not to enter the lists against the Frenchmen under any circumstances.

Dan became "Junior Major" on 21st June 1826 and got command of the 2nd Battalion. On the 15th May 1829 he became "Senior Major" and got command of the 1st Battalion and on 22nd July 1830 he succeeded Colonel Macdonell in the command of the whole Regiment.

Captain Edmund MacKinnon in his reminiscences of Dan told me that it was in 1817 that he first saw his cousin Dan, being him-

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self but eight years old at the time. His father, John Daniel took him to see the hero and he remembers well his father pointing out to him a splendid toilet table covered with a gold dressing service and especially a large gold dish in which he made his lather previous to shaving. It was about 3 p.m. and Dan was sitting in his dressing gown that being about the time he was generally dressing for the day. He was then in the zenith of his life and decidedly one of the handsomest and most remarkable looking men in London.

Dan's turn for duty now recurred but seldom and he took a house in Hertford Street, Mayfair, which was fitted up in most exquisite taste so much so that Edmund remembers being struck with astonishment the first time he saw it upon which Dan said, "Well, Mr. Mun, did you ever see anything handsomer than my drawing room?" upon which after some hesitation Edmund said, "Yes, I think that the Palace at Versailles is handsomer!" This reply so delighted Dan that he hardly ever met Edmund afterwards without reminding him of it. His house was not far from the Commander-in-Chief's, the Duke of York, and when on one occasion he met H.R.H. the latter asked Dan where he was then living and on his mentioning Hertford Street, the Duke said, "Well, Dan, as we are such near neighbours now we must often dine together *pot-luck*." "I shall be highly honoured, your Royal Highness," replied Dan, "but yours shall be the *pot* and mine the *luck*," a rejoinder which was often afterwards quoted by the Duke as a very smart reply. The Duke did, some years after, honour Dan with his company when he entertained him in a very sumptuous manner at the house of his brother William Alexander in Hyde Park Place (where the Duke of Wellington was a frequent guest), the banquet being on the occasion of Dan's marriage, circ. 1829. About his marriage there is a romantic story. It appears that Dan was quartered in the Tower and at that time as now the ancient fortress was one of the great sights of London, the lions which were kept there being among the greatest attractions.

One day as he was passing the dens he saw a distinguished party visiting the place and amongst them a young lady of great beauty and attractions. The Beefeater had been as usual into the dens to shew how docile and quiet the lions were and moreover said they were so tame that any of the company might with perfect

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safety go in with him. It was just at that moment Dan passed and heard the young lady say "Oh! I am not afraid, I will go in with you." "Ah!" thought Dan "that is one of the bravest and most lovely girls I ever saw; if ever I marry anybody it shall be she." He afterwards ascertained that the young lady was Miss Dent, the eldest daughter of John Dent, the banker, M.P. for Poole and famous for having suggested the tax on dogs which obtained for him the nickname of "Dog Dent." An introduction followed and ultimately she became his wife. *

Soon after his marriage (of which there was no issue), Dan purchased the colonelcy of the Coldstream Guards and thus commanded both battalions, but the purchase cost him 12,000 guineas—a most unfortunate investment, for by his premature death, the whole of this large sum was lost to the family.

In 1832 when the new clothing was being issued to the Army, Dan, whose remarkable good taste was well-known, made many changes in the uniform of the Coldstream Guards with the sanction of William IV. The coatee then in use was covered with white lace all over the breast, and gave much trouble to the soldier to keep clean by the constant use of pipe-clay. Dan had all this removed except from the cuffs and on the skirt; and instead of the shoulder straps of the centre, and wings of the flank companies, he gave them white worsted epaulettes, and equipped the whole of the regiment with the bearskin caps, which had hitherto only been worn by the Grenadier Company, adding a red feather to be worn on the right side.

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* In a letter from the Marquis of Exeter to C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe dated—Burghley 10th October, 1813, the following amusing passage occurs. "By the bye that puts me in mind that I have unravelled the mystery about the Captain (Dan MacKinnon) at least with the assistance of the "Courier" of the 22nd September—though I actually saw his letter of order yet I have a strong suspicion of some *ruse* in the matter. In the first place he informed us that he called here on his way to London and that he had received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief. My interpretation is, from *his* Commander-in-Chief his wife and the levée he was to attend the following morning to have meant his wife's room—I think you will tell me I am right when I copy the advertisement. Births—On Saturday last in George Street Portman Square Lady of Daniel MacKinnon Esq of a son."

[This is a mistake of Lord Exeter, Dan as we know was unmarried then, but my father Daniel Henry, son of John Daniel was born on 18th September 1813 in George Street].—Ed.

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These changes, especially of the caps made a wonderful improvement in the appearance of the regiment when parading with regiments of the line, adding greatly to their solid look when in mass. The change in the uniform of the Coldstreams was at once adopted by the 1st and 3rd Guards, with the exception of the feather which was white for the Grenadiers and none for the Fusiliers.

It will not be wondered at that a sedentury life contrasted with former activity in the field had an ill effect on a constitution which with the exception of the attack of fever had been unchecked by a day's illness; and in 1835 Dan was attacked by a nervous disorder which he was unable to shake off. On 21st June 1836, the day before he died, he sent for his cousin Daniel Henry [my father] wishing in the kindness of his heart to be the first to tell him that he was appointed to the 16th (Queen's) Lancers, which Lord Hill, then Commander-in-Chief, had promised to Dan as a special favour, for the Adjutant General had before decided that Daniel Henry, having passed the age of 21 could not be appointed. When Daniel Henry, however, went next morning to Hertford Street as requested, Dan was too ill to receive him and that evening breathed his last at the age of 46, when he could hardly be said to have passed the prime of life.

Ross of Bladensberg in his "Coldstream Guards" thus records the closing scene:

In 1836 the Regiment was put into mourning by the unexpected death of Col. MacKinnon, who having served in the Coldstreams throughout the whole of his military career from the early age of 14 to the day of his death in every rank from Ensign to Colonel through the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, where he was wounded, may be considered as an officer peculiarly belonging to the Regiment. He was the author of "The Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards," a work remarkable for its research in the early history of the British Army. In spite of illness he remained at his post till the middle of June when he obtained a year's leave; but he was unable to avail himself of it for a few days later, on 22nd June, he died, only 46 years of age, respected alike by the officers and the men. The public exercises of the Regiment were immediately suspended till after the interment of the C.O., and on 8th July the

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following Order was promulgated by Col. Sir William Gomm who succeeded him, on the occasion of an Inspection of the two Battalions by Lord Hill the Commander-in-Chief.

"The Lieut.-Col would be greatly wanting in what he feels would be due to his Lordship and the corps at large, to the memory no less of its late distinguished Commanding Officer, did he fail to communicate the strong expression of condolence and regret with which Lord Hill adverted to the loss freshly sustained by the Regiment and the Army in general, in the death of Col. MacKinnon—a regret which Lord Hill felt assured was so largely and so duly shared with him by all ranks and orders of the Regiment."

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## CHAPTER XII.

### NOTICES OF VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE CLAN.

We have now to deal with several distinguished MacKinnons, some of whom are directly descended from Chiefs of the main or Kilmorie line, while others as simple Clansmen deserve a brief record of their deeds and we cannot I think do better than commence with a typical old Highlander,

### LACHLAN MACKINNON, THIRD OF CORRY.

This gentleman was directly a descendant of Tearlach Sgianach (Charles of Skye) who was second son of Lachlan Dubh, twenty-fourth Chief of the Clan. He married three times, firstly Janet daughter of Charles MacKinnon of Keanoucherach, secondly Janet MacDonald cousin german to Sir J. MacGregor Murray, thirdly Mrs. Anne widow of Ranald MacAlister of Skerinish and daughter of Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh. In 1772 he entertained the traveller Thomas Pennant who in his account of Skye says "The ruins of an antient Castle, seated on the pinnacle of a rock and some little Isles formed our western view. These of old belonged to the MacKinnons—a very antient race. . . . Some of the line have still a property in Skie. . . . We anchored safely beneath MacKinnon's Castle. . . . . This part is in the district of Strath. . . . . Mr. MacKinnon, junior, one of the gentlemen we saw with the horses overtakes us in a boat and presses us to accept the entertainment of his father's house of Coire-Chattachan in the neighbouring part of Skie. After landing near the Isle of Scalpa and walking about 2 miles along a flat, arrive at the quarters so kindly provided. . . . The point of Camisketel on the South of Skie was shewed to me at a distance—famous for the cave which gave shelter for 2 nights to the young adventurer and his faithful guide the antient MacKinnon. Leave Coire-Chattachan after experiencing every civility from the family."

Next year 1773 MacKinnon of Corry acted as host to Dr. Samuel Johnson and James Boswell in his life of Johnson gives the following characteristic account of their visit to Lachlan MacKinnon.

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"Corriechatachin" he says "is a farm possessed by Mr. MacKinnon who received us with a hearty welcome as did his wife who was what we call in Scotland 'a lady-like woman.' We have enjoyed the comfort of a table plentifully furnished, the satisfaction of which was heightened by a numerous and cheerful company; and we for the first time had a specimen of the joyous social manners of the inhabitants of the Highlands. They talked in their own ancient language with fluent vivacity and sung many Erse songs with such spirit that though Dr. Johnson was treated with the greatest respect and attention there were moments in which he seemed to be forgotten. Dr. Johnson there composed his ode to Mrs. Thrale, 'Scriptum in Skia,' 6th September 1773, his first night.

"September 7th was a very stormy day and we stayed indoors. A conversation on 'second sight' arose. Young Mr. MacKinnon mentioned one McKenzie who is still alive who had often fainted in his presence and when he recovered mentioned visions which had been presented to him. He told Mr. MacKinnon that at such a place he should meet a funeral and that such and such people would be the bearers naming four; and three weeks afterwards he saw what MacKenzie had predicted. Mrs. MacKinnon who is a daughter of old Kingsburgh (a MacDonald) told us that one day her father was riding in Skye and some women who were at work in a field on the side of the road, said to him they had heard two *taischs* (*i.e.* two voices of persons about to die) and what was remarkable one of them was an English *taisch* which they had never heard before. When he returned, he at that very place met two funerals and one of them was that of a woman from the mainland who could only speak English."

"September 8th. Finer day, Mrs. MacKinnon with unaffected hospitality and politeness expressed her happiness at having such a company in the house and appeared to understand and to relish Dr. Johnson's conversation. This day we left to stay with Malcolm MacLeod at Raasay. The good family at Corrichatachin said they hoped to see us on our return."

"September 25th. We were most hospitably received by the master and mistress at Corrichatachin, who were just going to bed, but with unaffected kindness made a good fire and at 12 o'clock at night had supper on the table. MacLean of Coll and MacDonald of Knockow were guests. Dr. Johnson went to bed soon, but



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Corrichatachin said it was the first time 'Col.' had been in his house and he must have his bowl. The result was that they were merry and cordial to a high degree, Boswell calling MacKinnon familiarly 'Corrie' which his friends do, and after 'Col' and young MacKinnon had slipped away to bed, got very drunk and retired at 5 a.m. leaving MacKinnon and MacDonald to usher in the day."

"September 26th, Sunday. Boswell had a bad headache and was scolded by Dr. Johnson. 'Corrie' brought a brandy bottle and insisted Boswell should take a dram while in bed. 'Aye' said Dr. Johnson, 'fill him drunk again!' Boswell was however the better for his host's brandy and rose and went into Dr. Johnson's room, and taking up Mrs. MacKinnon's Prayer Book opened it at the 20th Sunday after Trinity in the Epistle for which he read 'Be not drunk with wine wherein is excess' which gave rise to the following lines [indicative of the religious and moral tone of the period]:—

"At Corrichatachin, in hoggism sunk,
I got with punch, alas! confounded drunk;
Much was I vexed that I could not be quiet,
But like a stupid blockhead, breed a riot.
I scarcely knew how 'twas I reeled to bed—
Next morn I wak'd with dreadful pains of head;
And terrors too, that of my peace did rob me—
For much I feared the Moralist would mob me,
But as I lay along—a heavy log,
The Doctor entering called me 'drunken dog'—
Then up rose I with apostolic air,
And read in Dame MacKinnon's book of prayer
In hopes for such a sin to be forgiven,
And make, if possible, my peace with heaven.
'Twas strange that in that volume of divinity,
I op'd the twentieth Sunday after Trinity,
And read these words, 'pray be not drunk with wine,
Since drunkenness doth make a man a swine.'
Alas! says I, the sinner that I am!
And having made my speech, I took a dram."

Bozzy and Piozzi.

"Mrs. MacKinnon then gave several anecdotes of the examina-

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tion of her father (Kingsburgh) on the subject of the Prince's escape, and also of her mother [Lady Margaret daughter of the 9th Earl of Eglinton, who died in 1799] and of her popularity in Skye."

"September 27th. After dinner there was much conversation about the abundance of MacKinnon's supplies, and yet that he had no garden; then about the crooked spade used in Skye and its utility for stony ground. That evening one of the married ladies of the party, encouraged by the rest, put her arms round Dr. Johnson's neck and kissed him. 'Do it again' said he, 'and let us see who will tire first.' He kept her on his knee some time while she and he drank tea!"

"September 28th. Weather worse; very much confined for room; servants, dogs and cats sat during the day in Boswell's room, the ladies in Dr. Johnson's, the gentlemen in the parlour. At 2 p.m. the weather cleared and we got ready to depart, but our kind host and hostess would not let us go without taking a 'snatch' as they called it, which was in truth a very good dinner. While the punch went round, Dr. Johnson kept a close whispering conference with Mrs. MacKinnon which however was loud enough to let us hear that the subject of it was the particulars of Prince Charles' escape." [It must be remembered that Mrs. MacKinnon was old Kingsburgh's * daughter, and was in the house when the Prince was there in woman's clothes. "Ascanius" relates an anecdote of her being alarmed with the masculine manners and bold strides of the muckle woman in the hall. Mrs. MacKinnon was the maternal grandmother of Major-General MacDonald, Deputy Adjutant General.]

"We were merry with MacKinnon on Dr. Johnson's whispering with his wife. She, perceiving this, humorously cried 'I am in love with him—what is it to live and not to love?' Upon which he seized her hand eagerly and kissed it. As we were going the Scottish phrase of 'honest' man (expressive of kindness and regard) was again and again applied to Dr. Johnson."

"October 19th. We coasted along Mull till we reached Gribun where is what is called MacKinnon's Cave, compared with which that at Ullinish is inconsiderable. It is a rock of great height

* Sir Alexander MacDonald, Bart. of Kingsburgh in the Isle of Skye.



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close to the sea. Upon the left of its entrance there is a cascade almost perpendicular from the top to the bottom of the rock. We penetrated by candle-light a good way, by our measurement no less than 485 feet. Tradition says that a piper and 12 men once advanced into this cave nobody can tell how far and never returned.*

Sir Walter Scott says that Dr. Johnson's admiration of it seems exaggerated and also that there is little room for supposing that any person ever went farther into MacKinnon's Cave than any man may now go. A great number of MacKinnons escaping from some powerful enemy hid themselves in this cave till they could get over to the Isle of Skye.† It concealed themselves and their birlings or boats; and they shew MacKinnon's harbour, MacKinnon's dining-table &c.; MacKinnon's candlestick, a fine piece of spar, was destroyed by some wanton traveller.

Lachlan MacKinnon of Corry died in 1789, and his third wife survived him and lived to a great age as we shall see in the next notice. He had three sons, the eldest Charles married the eldest daughter of Mrs. Anne Macalister by her first husband (who was the third wife of Lachlan of Corry mentioned above) but predeceased his father leaving an only son Lachlan afterwards of Corry and Letterfearn. This Lachlan married a daughter of the MacRae of Inverinate and had 13 children of whom Lachlan the eldest succeeded his father at Corry and married twice leaving no male issue. His brother Charles was the next representative of the Corry family but he also left no male issue and the family is now represented by Lachlan son of Alexander Kenneth the next surviving brother who died at Corry in 1871. Lachlan is, I believe, a resident in Australia. This family is a cadet branch of the descendants from Tearlach Sgianach (Charles of Skye), the elder being the family of Gambell or Ghamboil who were afterwards called the MacKinnons of Scalpa and of whom there are several descendants. ‡

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* Dr. Johnson says that this was the greatest natural curiosity he had ever seen.

† See Chapter II. for a fuller and more accurate account of these events.—Ed.

‡ James Logan the historian writing in 1849 says that he had had a good

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THE REVEREND JOHN MACKINNON, MINISTER OF STRATH.

This gentleman was also a descendant of Tearlach Sgianach (Charles of Skye) through his youngest grandson Charles of Keanoucrach. His father Donald was also Minister of Strath and died there in 1831 in his hundredth year. John was succeeded at the Manse of Strath by his son Donald who died there in 1888. Thus were three generations of MacKinnons from about 1754 to 1888, a period of 134 years in spiritual charge of the Parish of Strath. Donald the elder was a noted genealogist. He compiled a family Tree in the earlier days of this century the value of which was enhanced by the fact that he was 14 years old at the time of Prince Charles Rising and that he lived to see the reign of William IV! Our sketch of his son John shall be taken from the pen of his guest Catherine Sinclair who in her account of "Scotland and the Scotch" published in 1840, gives the following account of her recent visit to Skye:—

"Scarcely had we sat down at the inn at Broadford, before the Rev. Mr. MacKinnon arrived with so cordial an invitation to the house of his brother-in-law Mr. MacKinnon of Corrichatachan that in half an hour I found myself transported into an elegant drawing-room under the same roof with the venerable Mrs. MacKinnon aged 95 who formerly entertained Dr. Johnson in Skye [in 1773]. After spending a day most agreeably at Corry, we were conveyed to the Manse at Strath where the most unqualified and abundant attention is paid to that injunction of Scripture, 'Use hospitality one to another without grudging.' Mr. MacKinnon made his house, his time and his servants entirely our own, and we felt so much at home during the two days of our stay, that I could not but think the visitors at the Manse of Strath must sometimes be in danger of forgetting Solomon's admonition to guests, 'Withdraw thy foot from thy neighbour's house, lest he weary of thee and curse thee.'

"We went on Sunday to hear Mr. MacKinnon preach first in

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deal of conversation with Charles (of the Ghamboil and Scalpa tribe), whom he describes as the worthy host of Tigh Remba near Loch Snizort, a very intelligent man. Charles observed that some parties alleged that he had a good claim to the Chiefship, but as his genealogical knowledge did not enable him to arrive at the same conviction, he made no pretension to the honour.

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Gaelic and then in English. The parish church being now in a ruinous, tumble-down state, both services were performed in the open-air which on a fine summer day has a truly delightful and apostolic appearance. Strathaird's Cave which drew tears of rapturous admiration from the late Lord Kinneder, is one of the seven wonders of Skye being exceedingly extensive and lined with beautiful spars, so perfectly white and crystallized that I have seen morsels broken off with which an absent man would have sugared his tea. The entrance is very imposing as if a hill had been torn asunder to form it. Both sides are flanked with prodigious masses of rock and spar, covered with dark draperies of sea-weed which had the effect at some distance of large shaggy animals hanging over the roof. An inner cave is still finer but so difficult of access that I wished it had been impossible. A steep, slippery, inclined plane of glassy, wet spar, looking like sheets of ice, thirty feet high, must first be surmounted while one sailor with a lighted torch leads the way and another follows behind to catch those who fall. The chief glories of the cave were a very curious monk's head with a long beard most accurately sculptured by nature, which once decorated it but the beard has gradually broken off and been pilfered; and a gigantic white statue of spar, standing on the pavement like oynx stones, which is commonly pointed out as the genius of the place."

In describing Prince Charlie's cave Miss Sinclair recounts the adventures in which the Chief of MacKinnon bore so conspicuous a part A.D. 1746.

Of her visit to Loch Coruisk she tells, "on the summit of a sharp-pointed hill where you could scarcely imagine room for one person to stand, the estates of three proprietors divide, and the Chiefs of MacDonald [of Slate] MacKinnon and Macleod might all shake hands on that elevated peak, each standing on his own property." "We did not return," she proceeds, "to the Manse of Strath till 9 p.m. having kept Mr. MacKinnon waiting dinner four hours, a trespass on his hospitality so beyond the reach of apology that I did not attempt it. I was much interested before we left the Manse of Strath, to be present at the marriage of a young maid-servant who intended making a wedding jaunt to the Antipodes. Mr. MacKinnon with his usual kindness invited the whole friends and attendants into a parlour, where for the first time I heard the

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ceremony in Gaelic. It must have been to judge from the agitation of all present, deeply impressive; and in less than ten minutes the pretty interesting bride was metamorphosed from a Highland housemaid into an Australian shepherdess. Her friends were all dressed in the tartans of their various Clans, looking most respectable and evidently much awed by the compliment of being admitted into the Manse, treading on the carpet as if it had been red-hot, and occupying the very smallest corner possible of their chairs."

Rev. John MacKinnon was succeeded on his death by his eldest son Donald who held the incumbency till his death in 1888.

The first Protestant Minister of Strath was the Rev. Neil MacKinnon, A.M., appointed in 1627-47. Rev. Donald MacKinnon, A.M.,* held the post from 1675 to 1695. An already mentioned Donald was Minister from 1779 to 1825. Therefore of the 261 years that had elapsed since the introduction of Protestantism no less than 150 years saw a MacKinnon in the Manse of Strath.

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SURGEON MAJOR GENERAL SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER MACKINNON, K.C.B., L.L.D.

was the fifth son of the Rev. John MacKinnon who was the subject of the last notice. Born in 1830 he obtained the qualification of L.R.C.S. Edinburgh in 1851. He entered the Medical Department of the Army in 1853 and served throughout the Crimean Campaign of 1854-56 with the 42nd Highlanders (the Black Watch) including the Battles of Alma and Balaclava (in medical charge of the Regiment), in the expedition to Kertch and Yenikale, in the siege and fall of Sebastopol and in the assault on the out works on June 18th and September 8th 1855 (medal with 3 clasps, Knight of the Legion of Honour and Turkish medal). He was surgeon on the personal staff of Lord Clyde during the Indian Mutiny from April 1858 to the end of the war and was present in the Campaigns of Rohilkund, Byswarrah and Trans-Gogra, including the actions of

* Donald took his degree at Glasgow in 1664 and was appointed to the Parishes of Strath and Sleat by Charles II. (there being no Bishop of the Iles).—Ed.

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Bareilly, Shahjehanpur, Dundiakeira, Bergudia, Musjedin and the Rapti (medal). He served in the New Zealand War of 1863-6 including the capture of the rebel position at Katikara and repulse of the attack at Gilbert's clearing, being mentioned in despatches. He became sanitary officer to the New Zealand force in November 1863 and held the appointment till April 1866 when field operations ceased. In that capacity he served the campaigns in the Waikato, Tauranga and Wanganni Districts, on the Head-quarters Staff of Sir D. Cameron and attached to the Quarter-Master General's department. He was present in the action at Rangiawhia, assault of the Gate Pah, Tauranga (mentioned in despatches and C.B.) and at the repulse of the enemy's attack on the camp at Nukumaru, and affair at Kakaramea (medal). He also served as principal medical officer in the second phase of the Ashanti War of 1873-4 including the Battle of Amoaful, Battle of Ordashu and capture of Coomassi. For these services he was several times mentioned in despatches, promoted Deputy Surgeon General and received a medal with clasp. He was Surgeon General at the War Office from 1882 to 1887, and Director General of the Army Medical Department from 1889 to 1896 when he retired, having thus risen to the very top of his profession.

In 1891 he was promoted to be K.C.B., and in 1893 he was appointed honorary surgeon to the Queen. He died in London in 1897 at the age of 67. Sir W. Russell writes of him as one of the best and bravest soldiers that ever wore the uniform of the Queen, an embodiment of some of the finest traits of the Celtic Highlander — a dour, tender-hearted man, stern and kind, imaginative in all that related to Clan and country, loyal to his Sovereign but full of sentimental affection for "the lost cause" of the Stuarts which still lives in poetry and song north of Perth and is not altogether ignored in high places along the valley of the Dee; keen in maintenance of the rights of the profession to which he belonged, and highly sensitive on the point of honour, but practical enough to recognise that there were broad lines of demarcation between the combatant and the medical officer in relation to military duties and it must be confessed promptly pugnacious in vindication of his views against all comers. And so it was that not being all things to all men, "Jock MacKinnon" as

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he was known to friends and enemies, had to fight his way like a Gordon Highlander at Dargai and rather enjoyed what Kingslake calls "the rapture" of the combat. After the repulse of the Russian detachment at Balaclava by the 93rd, his own loved regiment* on October 25th "Jock" became so full of warlike ardour that he resigned his appointment as assistant-surgeon and applied to Sir Colin Campbell to obtain him a commission as Ensign which I believe he actually received, although his "Chief" as he called the General endeavoured to divert him from his purpose by the remark "My good man, why if you want to kill people, depend upon it you'll be more deadly with the lancet than you'll be with your sword." The link that was forged between him and Sir Colin in the fire of battle was never broken and MacKinnon was wont to rage at large when he spoke of the repulse of the Redan. "We" (meaning the Highland Brigade) "would have just driven them like chaff before the wind if Sir Colin had had the word." When Campbell took the command of the Army in India he selected MacKinnon as his personal staff-surgeon. "And an awful time I have of it" says Jock. "He is not amenable to advice and it's a responsibility for a whole hospital to look after him." When Sir Colin, riding furiously to check a troop of R.H.A. that were galloping after some flying Sepoys, was thrown from his horse and broke his collar-bone, MacKinnon exclaimed, "Well! he will have to be quiet for a time now at all events." It was a short while before this that there was a temporary coolness between the Chief and his body surgeon. MacKinnon rushed into the tent of a friend one morning with staring eyes and every symptom of bodily suffering exclaiming "I am poisoned! I am dying! the apothecary gave me a deadly dose of belladonna in mistake. Heaven have mercy on me!" His friend rushed off to the tent of Dr. Tice the P.M.O. who hastily caught up some specifics, and both made for the tent where MacKinnon lay in agony on a charpoy, which they reached just as Lord Clyde was entering it with the brusque demand "What's

* Capt. Halkett of the 42nd Highlanders writes "This is a mistake, MacKinnon never served in the 93rd. It is true he had an idea of applying for a combatant commission but Col. Cameron of 42nd, not Sir Colin Campbell, dissuaded him from it."

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all this noise about?" "I am dying, sir, I am dying, that's all," exclaimed MacKinnon in great agony. "Dying! then why can't you die quietly like a gentleman, sir, and not make such a row?" and so retired. "And to think I have saved his life half a dozen times," said Jock when he recovered which he soon did. "Let him mind next time." We laughed, but Jock was very angry. However peace was soon restored and when MacKinnon set the mess-tent on fire in the course of his execution of a strathspey on the table to enliven our Christmas dinner on the borders of the Raptee (1859), Sir Colin merely observed that "he must not do it again." Sir William MacKinnon had not a trace of the Puritan about him; he loved a Gaelic song, and he pitied the folk who did not understand it; and he has been known in moments of social relaxation to exhibit to his intimates his skill in the various dances, steps and measures which were in vogue when he was a boy in his well-beloved Isle of Skye, the traditions and tales of which were familiar and most dear to him. He was too sensible to deny to the races which were not fortunate enough to be born in the western isles a share in the virtues of manhood and in a proper development of fighting qualities, but he believed in his heart and soul that the warlike and other virtues of the human race obtain their highest pitch among his own people and their congeners. Whatever touched the fame and good name of the Clans touched him to the quick, and it was though he had suffered a personal outrage that he read the damning proofs of the treachery of Glengarry to his unfortunate master, and denounced the miscreant as though he was there standing before him as a villian who had brought eternal dishonour upon the country. When he was speaking in severe terms of a medical officer with whom he had quarrelled he was reminded by a friend that the other was a countryman and that Scotchmen should hang together. "Scotchmen!" exclaimed MacKinnon. "Don't you understand the difference between a Glasgow body like that and a Highland gentleman? God forbid we should be considered the same!" By all the officers he served under he was held in friendly esteem and regard, by Lord Clyde, by Cameron, and by Lord Wolseley and it is not to the credit of some of his own particular department of the Army that MacKinnon was subjected to bitter attacks in the Press when he

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was Director General, for his assailants knew well that he could not reply to them; but he was sustained by his sense of duty and by the consciousness that he was actuated by devotion to the public service—*tam Marte quam Mercurio*—he was a soldier surgeon indeed, and he set a bright example which will perhaps be followed when the medical officers of the Army are content to be so."

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## LAUCHLAN MACKINNON OF ELFORDLEIGH.

An elder brother of the gallant Director-General. He was born in 1817 and receiving his education at Aberdeen he emigrated to Australia in 1839. In those distant days of colonial history there was an adventurous class of young men known as "overlanders" whose duty and delight it was to purchase and pilot from the elder settlements around Sydney large droves of sheep and cattle to the advanced outposts of Melbourne and Adelaide. There was no inconsiderable danger in this pioneering pursuit—danger from flood, bush-fires and the attacks of hostile blacks—but the profit was in due proportion to the risks, and it is therefore not surprising that young men of courage and with capital were found to embrace eagerly this adventurous life. Soon after his arrival in Sydney, Mr. MacKinnon placed himself at the head of an expedition of this kind and conducted it successfully to the new settlements at Adelaide in South Australia. He afterwards took charge of a similar expedition to the colony in which his future was destined to be cast, but which was then only a distant dependency known as Port Phillip. He resolved to make this new country his home and taking up a large area of Crown land in what is now the Avoca district of the colony of Victoria, he began the lucrative pursuit of an Australian pioneer "squatter." At that time the Port Phillip district was allotted six members in the New South Wales Legislature and Mr. MacKinnon was chosen as one of these representatives. After the erection of Port Phillip into a separate colony under the name of Victoria he held a seat for some time in the Legislative Council of the new State. He also filled the positions of Member of the Council of the University of Melbourne, Colonial Magistrate and President of the Highland

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Emigration Society besides actively co-operating in various movements calculated to promote the progress of Victoria. To some extent these public duties occupied less of his time and attention when he became associated with the late Edward Wilson in the proprietary and management of the "*Melbourne Argus.*" About 1868 he returned from Australia and settled down in Devonshire where he took upon himself the duties of a country gentleman. He frequently occupied a seat on the Plymouth Bench, and was a generous supporter of educational and philanthropic institutions at Plympton and Plymouth besides assisting liberally in the establishment of convalescent homes. He was a member of the Reform Club and a magistrate for Middlesex and Westminster. Mr. MacKinnon was twice married—in 1841 to Jane daughter of Mr. Robert Montgomery of Belfast; and in 1850 to Emily daughter of Lieut. John Bundock, R.N. of Totnes who survived him. He died in 1888 leaving no family.

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## LACHUN MACTHEARLAIG OIG

(Lachlan son of Charles the younger) must next engage our attention. The "Skye Bard" as he was called was the eldest son of Charles of Keanouchrach who was grandson of Tearlach Sgianach (Charles of Skye) also progenitor of the MacKinnons, ministers of Strath. He was little known to the world but was much admired as a bard and greatly respected as a gentleman in his native Isle of Skye. Born in 1665 in the parish of Strath, his mother being Mary daughter of John MacLeod of Drynoch in the same island, he began to show his poetical genius almost from infancy. His father Lachun like all Skye gentlemen in those good old times was a very sociable and hospitable man who seemed never to be contented unless he had his house full of neighbours to enjoy themselves in his family circle. The company were often much amused with little Lachun (the eldest of a large family) when a mere child, and the facility with which he composed couplets on any subject prescribed to him.

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At the age of eight years he possessed a vigour of mind and a vivacity of imagination rarely to be met with in youths of more than double his age. A predilection for poetry seemed to have gained an ascendency in his mind over all other pursuits and amusements of his tender years. He received the rudiments of his education under a tutor in his father's family and as his native island had not at that remote period the advantage of public schools of any note, the young bard was sent at the age of 16 to a school of good reputation at Nairn. Here he spent three years greatly distinguishing himself by his brilliant talents, assiduity and perseverance, soon becoming by far the best Greek and Latin scholar in the Academy. His leisure time was principally spent in composing poems in English although he was ever happiest in that tongue which was most congenial to him viz., Gaelic. Among many other beautiful little pieces, he here composed a song which was much admired to the air subsequently immortalized by Burns as "Auld lang syne."

Like most of the Scottish poets of that day he entrusted his productions principally to memory; and thus they are unfortunately lost to us.

Lachun is described as being in appearance tall, handsome and fascinating, of winning gentleness, modest in manner and above all of steadfast friendship. No circle in the Western Highlands was complete without the favourite "Bard of Strath."

Early in life he married Flora daughter of Campbell of Strond in Harris and rented from his Chief the farm of Brackish and the Island of Pabbay at £24 per annum—now rented at about £250 per annum. Losing his wife after a short and happy period he quitted Skye in grief and took a farm under Mackenzie of Kintail. Here he was never happy, contrasting the unpolished manners of that district with the comparative refinement of his native islanders. This led to several pungent satires and lampoons which he directed against the inhabitants of Kintail and won for him many enemies. After four years he returned disgusted to Brackish and was unfortunately persuaded by his friends into a marriage with a widow named Mackintosh who was supposed to be very rich but whose debts in reality were so pressing that the very morning after his marriage he was served with a summons for the payment thereof.

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Naturally incensed and acting under impulse he seized his bride's Bible and wrote on the fly-leaf the following expressive lines:

"Tha'n saoghal air a roinn,
Tha dà dhàn ann,
Tha dàn ann gu bhi sona,
Ach tha dan an donuis ann." *

This union brought nothing but trouble. The step-mother quarrelled with his children, and on one occasion said it was an unlucky day on which she had the misfortune to meet her step-daughter first in the morning; on which the young lady who was gifted with a share of her father's power of repartee, replied "you have every cause to believe that it is unlucky to meet me, for I was first foot to my dear father the unfortunate morning on which he left home to marry you."

Lachun was greatly beloved, and pre-eminent above his other good qualities was his love of hospitality. His witty sayings became proverbial. He was moreover renowned for his skill as a deer-stalker, and had no equal in the Highlands as a violinist. His most famous Gaelic poem was addressed to "Generosity, Love and Liberty" and with the exception of some fugitive pieces, is his only work now extant.

"His language" says Hector MacLean, is remarkably pure and without the least trace of foreign idiom, nor is there an English word to be met with in his Gaelic verses. In a song composed to the praise of a young lady, the beauty-spot on Diarmid's brow is alluded to, which spot no woman could see without loving him. In a satirical song on a certain dagger, reference is made to the enchantment of the Feen, and the next stanza tells how many Fionn slew on the occasion so the poet implies that the dirk in question was a weapon of the time of Feinne. 'Breacan' and 'Feile' (tartan plaid and kilt) are mentioned as the dress worn by the Highland Chiefs of the poet's time."

He was as has already been observed, a good musician and by this natural wedlock of sweet words with song, preserved his muse

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* "The world is divided—
There are two fates—
The fate of luck,
And the fate of the devil."

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from running wild into those ingeniously tortuous paths where the dexterity of the performer is a more attractive object of admiration than the grace of the performance.

In 1717, against the wishes of his Chief, he journeyed all the way to Inverness to sign a congratulatory address to George I. on ascending the throne. He died amid every demonstration of respect in 1734 at the age of 69. His cousin-german Alasdair Dubh of Glengarry and all his gentlemen tacksmen were present at the funeral, as were also Macdonald of the Isles, Macleod of Dunvegan, MacKinnon of MacKinnon, and Mackenzie of Applecross with all their principal retainers. He was buried in the old churchyard of Kilchrist, in his native parish of Strath where a rude flag with an inscription still marks the spot; but the memory of his virtues will be handed down in the place to generations yet unborn.

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## ALEXANDER MACKINNON.

We now come to a later and a military poet of the name. Alexander was born at Morar in the district of Arisaig in 1770 and entering the army served in the 92nd Highlanders rising to the rank of corporal in that distinguished corps. He fought stoutly on the famous battle-fields of Egypt and in the battle of Alexandria received three severe wounds which disabled him from future service. He was found lying among the dead with his back to the field and his feet to the foe, in frozen gore and on the apparent verge of dissolution. The order to bury the body of Corporal MacKinnon was about to be executed when his comrade Sergeant MacLean, sought him out among the heaps of carnage and applying his ear to the poet's breast perceived that everlasting silence had not yet been imposed on his lyre. His respirations were feeble and slow, but he lived and MacLean at once conveyed him to one of the hospital ships.

Gradually recovering from his wounds, he composed on board the hospital ship his truly sublime and admirable poem so descriptive of the battle. It is extremely fluent in language and the verse is very smooth. He seems to have been desirous of writing pure Gaelic and avoiding English words, for Sidney Smith

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is called Mac a Ghobba (Smith's Son). He compares Abercrombie to Fionn not Fingal—

"Nar Fhionn a' mosgladh sluaigh."
(Like Fionn arousing hosts).

The names Alexandria, Aboukir and Abercrombie occur. Sasunn (England) is mentioned as a place "Far am faigh sin leann am pailteas" (where we shall get ale in plenty). He describes the shock of battle with graphic vividness and speaks like the eye-witness he certainly was.

Alexander MacKinnon is described as prepossessing in appearance, 5ft. 10in. in height, athletic in form and of very fine symmetry and proportions. As a poet he ranks very high, his mind indeed was of that gigantic order which by its own propelling powers could rise equal to any subject he chose to sing. It has frequently been admitted that his poems belong to the history of Great Britain being the lusty growth of the stout soldier-life which he led and are according to MacKenzie's report full of that fire and pith which only the experience of actual warfare can inspire. After the poem "Alexandria," that composed on the pleasure boat of Alexander MacDonald of Glenaladale (who endeared himself to his countrymen by the cenotaph he erected for Prince Charles Stuart in Glenfinnan) is considered the best. This was composed after his return home when he had taken service as a sergeant in the 6th Royal Veteran Battalion. Macdonald was so pleased with the poem "Dubh Ghleannach" that he gave MacKinnon £5 and this sum appeared so enormous in the estimation of a poor neighbour of MacKinnon that he spoke to him on the subject saying "It is a bonny song to be sure, but faith, neighbour, you have been as well paid for it." "I tell you, sir," replied the poet "that every stanza of it, every timber in the Dubh Ghleannach's side is worth a £5 note." This retort must be regarded more in the light of a reprimand than as empty gasconade. Men of genius however cannot be blind to their own merit and if they ought not to be trumpeters to their own fame they are entitled by the law of self-defence to retaliate on the narrow-souled detractors of their own well-earned laurels. MacKinnon was neither egotistic nor

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pedantic. He submitted his pieces to the rigid criticism of his fellow soldiers, and never hesitated to throw out an idea, a distitch or even a stanza at their bidding. This has perhaps tended to the critical correctness of his Gaelic, and the excellence of his productions; men read them and are satisfied—there is nothing wanting, nothing extraneous.

The soldier-poet died in 1814 at the early age of 44 and was buried at Fort William with military honours.

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM ALEXANDER MACKINNON C.B., R.H.A.

was the fourth son of the late Dr. Farquhar MacKinnon of Kyle in Skye and direct lineal descendant from Lachlan Dubh, 24th Chief of the Clan.

This gallant and distinguished officer entered the service on 10th December 1841. He was present with the "Army of the Sutlej" under Lord Gough throughout the campaign of 1845-6 and fought at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah and Sobraon; for which he received a medal and clasps. He commanded the 2nd troop of the first brigade R.H.A. on 21st and 22nd December at Ferozeshah after the death of Major Todd who was killed early in the first day of that desperate battle. He served with the force under Brigadier Sir Hugh M. Wheeler during the Punjaub campaign of 1848-9 and was present at the taking of the forts of Rungachungle, Kulallwalla and Moraree and several other affairs for which he received a medal. He was next employed with the force under Sir Colin Campbell in 1851-2 against the Momunds and hill tribes west of Peshawur and commanded two guns at the engagement of Punj Pao in April 1853.

On 22nd August 1855 MacKinnon having been promoted regimental Captain, came home for a short time on sick furlough but returned to India before the outbreak of the Mutiny. Lord Clyde (Colin Campbell) at this period sent an unsolicited memorandum approved of by General Anson Commander-in-Chief in India to the home authorities recommending MacKinnon for a brevet majority but owing to the outbreak of the Mutiny it was lost in transit between Simla and Calcutta and never reached its destination.



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After recounting his services in detail Lord Clyde concluded "I can therefore recommend Captain MacKinnon very strongly as a gallant and skilful officer and as truly deserving of any reward the service will admit of being extended to him." And in his report of 1852 referred to in the memorandum he said "I beg particularly to dwell on the gallantry and steadiness of the Artillery under the command of Lieutenant MacKinnon. It was owing to the firmness and dash of this very slender detachment that I was enabled to drive 6,000 men and to retreat when it became necessary, without loss." Dated Fort Shubkudder, 17th April 1852.

Lord Gough too wrote a letter testifying to the high estimation he entertained of his merits and services during the Sikh campaign of 1845-6. And General Brooke also addressed MacKinnon a letter in which he stated that at Ferozeshah he had fulfilled the duties required of him with zeal and ability; and moreover that on other previous occasions whilst under his command as also on subsequent ones to Ferozeshah he had found him possessing ability and readiness to render zealously any service or duty required of him.

In the Mutiny he commanded 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade R.H.A. under Lord Clyde, was present at the action of Kala Muddee, the taking of Futtezhar and the final siege and capture of Lucknow. With the column under Sir Hope Grant he served throughout the operations in Oudh during the hot season of 1858 and was present at the affairs of Koorsee, Baree and Simree; commanded the Horse Artillery at the battle of Nuwabgungee Burra Bankee; and the whole Artillery in the affair at Selimpore under Colonel Pratt. He further served with the column under Sir George Barker during the remainder of the operations in 1858-9. He was very honourably mentioned in all the despatches connected with the above operations and for his services *at last* received a Brevet Majority, the Companionship of the Bath, medal and clasps.

It is generally believed that MacKinnon in addition would have obtained the Victoria Cross had the General in command been fully aware of his *conspicuous* gallantry evinced on more than one occasion.

After the suppression of the Mutiny, his health gave way and after a long illness contracted in India he died on 30th September 1867 at the early age of 44. Writing of him at this time in

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the "Inverness Courier" a brother officer says "The Isle of Skye can boast of having furnished a roll of many names distinguished in the annals of the British Army. Some of these have lived to reap a full harvest of renown, others there are whose careers have only been sufficiently prolonged to give an earnest of what they might have attained to had their lives been spared. Of these latter the subject of this sketch is a notable example." At the conclusion of the sketch he adds, "This compressed narrative of service performed and honours won will serve to shew that her Majesty has lost a gallant soldier and the Artillery Regiment an officer who was a credit to its ranks. As a friend he was honourable, high-minded and sincere; and to an old friend and comrade it has been left to place on record this testimony to the courage, honour and worth of as *true* a Highlander as ever wore a sword."

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CAPTAIN DONALD WILLIAM MACKINNON E.I.C.S.

Elder brother of the above. We have unfortunately very little on record concerning this brave soldier. He entered the Company's service in 1836 and served in the China War 1841-2 (medal), was the means of saving the life of his great friend General Colin MacKenzie on a Sunday during the insurrection of the Hyderabad troops in which affair both he and his wife were wounded, led his company against the Rohillas in 1858 and died of wounds received at Jhansi on 16th January 1859.

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Another victim to the Mutiny was LIEUTENANT T. A. MACKINNON who was an officer in the 64th Regiment (2nd Staffordshire). His corps was with the force under General Wyndham who was in great peril from the enemy when Lord Clyde came to his rescue. MacKinnon fell into the hands of the enemy and was discovered shortly afterwards *crucified* by them with several other soldiers of his regiment. His origin I have never been able to trace.

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INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF HOSPITALS CAMPBELL MACKINNON, C.B.

was the son of Rev. Dr. MacKinnon of Ayr, was born either in Tiree or Arran and served in Affghanistan with Shah Soojah's force

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1831-42. He was present at the capture of Ghuznee under Sir John Keane; at the operations in and beyond Bameean in 1839; at those in Kohistan under Sir Robert Sale in 1840; was in medical charge of the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzie during the defence of that post in the Affghanistan insurrection of 1841-2; was attached to the Candahar Division under Sir William Nott in the advance of that division on Kabul and was present at the action of Goaine and second capture of Ghuznee in 1842. With the army of the Punjaub in 1848-9 he was in medical charge of the 1st Brigade R.H.A. and present at the battles of Ramnuggur, Chillianwallah and Gujerat. He was with the same brigade at the action on the Hindun under Sir A. Wilson in May 1857 and at the action of Badlai-ki-Serai on 8th June. He was senior surgeon of the Artillery at the siege and capture of Delhi and was mentioned in General Sir A. Wilson's despatch dated Delhi 22nd September 1857. Appointed officiating superintending surgeon to the Agra circle in July, he accompanied Colonel Greathed's column in its advance on Agra in October and was present at the actions of Boolundshiot and Allyghur. For these services he was made a Companion of the Bath. I have no record of his decorations nor of the date of his death.

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There was a sergeant named MACKINNON in the Royal Highland Regiment who had a peculiar talent for love songs and laments for the fallen brave and had moreover a great store of ancient poetry. He died or was discharged before the American War of 1762.

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LIEUTENANT ROBERT MACKINNON,

an officer in the 42nd Highlanders, was wounded at the siege of Burgos September—October 1811 and again at the battle of Toulouse 10th April 1814.

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HUGH MACKINNON

was master's mate of H.M.S. "Irresistible" at Admiral Sir John Jervis' action off Cape St. Vincent on 14th February 1797. This was the ship to which Commodore Nelson shifted his broad pennant at 5 p.m. that day. MacKinnon was among the wounded.

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PRIVATE JOHN MACKINNON,

of the 93rd (Sutherland) Highlanders was wounded at the battle of the Alma 20th September 1854.

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SURGEON MAJOR CHARLES MACKINNON

was gazetted Assistant-Surgeon 1857, Surgeon 1872, Surgeon-Major 1873. He served in the Indian Mutiny in 1857-8 and was present at the attack on the rebels near Pecroo, in the Jugdespore jungles on 11th May 1858 for which he received a medal.

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SURGEON-GENERAL DAVID REID MACKINNON

was the son of a naval officer and a native of Arran. He was gazetted Assistant-Surgeon 1843, Surgeon 1855, Surgeon-Major 1868, Deputy Surgeon-General 1871 and Surgeon-General 1879. He served with the 21st (Royal North British) Fusiliers through the Crimean Campaign including the battles of Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman, siege and fall of Sebastopol, and the expedition to Kinburn for which he received a medal with four clasps; was made a Knight of the Legion of Honour, was awarded the 5th class of the Medjidie and the Turkish medal.

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JOHN MACKINNON, A.M.

was laureated at Glasgow in 1630 and presented to the parish of Bracadale in the Isle of Skye by John Bishop of the Isles in 1632.

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CHARLES MACKINNON,

minister of Orwell, co. Kinross in 1681 was deprived by the Privy Council in 1689 "for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates and not praying for their Majesties William and Mary but for the Restoration of King James and confusion to his enemies, for not observing the thanksgiving, and not reading the proclamation for the collection."

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JOHN MACKINNON

was appointed in 1778 by Lamont of Lamont to the ministry of Kilfinan co. Argyle and in the same year chaplain of the 74th (Argyllshire) Highlanders. He was translated to Kilmodan in the same county on the presentation of the Duke of Argyll in 1780, married Elizabeth Campbell and died 1803.

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JOHN MACKINNON, D.D.

married 1802 Isabella daughter of Lewis Fullarton of Arran, was tutor to the family of the Duke of Argyll, took Holy Orders in the Church of England, was appointed Chaplain to the 3rd East Kent (the Buffs) in 1815, was presented by the Duke of Argyll to the Island of Tiree but never officiated there owing to ill-health and died in 1817 aged 72.

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J. F. Campbell in his "Popular Tales of the West Highlands" mentions two members of the Clan.

1 ANGUS MACKINNON,

tailor of Dallabrog, South Ust, a little dark-haired man with quick-moving grey eyes and lively, kindly manner. He wore neither shoes nor stockings nor bonnet and seemingly never did. He sang "Seathan MacReigh Beirbh" (John, son of the Kings of Bergen) and other songs with considerable pathos and had a tolerably good voice. When Hector MacLean saw him he was about 70 years of age. He also told the legend why the "Dallag" (Dog-fish) is called the King's fish.

2 JOHN MACKINNON,

stable-boy at Broadford in Skye tells that "A man was one day walking along the road with a creel of herrings on his back and two foxes saw him and the one who was the biggest said to the other, 'Stop thou here and follow the man and I will run round and pretend that I am dead' so he ran round and stretched himself on the road. The man came on and when he saw the fox, he was well pleased to find so fine a beast and he picked him up and threw him into the

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creel and walked on. But the fox threw the herrings out of the creel and the other followed and picked them up; and when the creel was empty the big fox leaped out and ran away and that is how they got the herrings.' Well, they went on together till they got to a smith's house and there was a horse tied at the door and he had a golden shoe and there was a name on it. 'I will go and read what is written on that shoe' said the big fox, and he went; but the horse lifted his foot and struck a kick on him and drove his brains out.' 'Ghill, ghill, ars an suinnach beag cha sgolair mi s'cha'n ail leam a bhi' (lad, lad, no scholar me nor wish I to be) said the little fox, and of course he got the herrings."

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RIGHT REV. COLIN FRANCIS MACKINNON,

for many years till his death circa. 1874 Roman Catholic Bishop of Antigonish, Nova Scotia was not related to the family of the Chiefs. His ancestor in Nova Scotia came from the Island of Eig circa. 1770. I am sorry to have been unable to obtain fuller information concerning this Prelate now deceased. He had a brother, the Hon. John MacKinnon for many years member of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, alive in 1889 but a very old man.

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DONALD MACKINNON, M.D.,

was born in the Isle of Skye and received his general education at King's College, Aberdeen where he took the degree of Master of Arts. His medical studies were pursued in Edinburgh under the immediate direction of his relative Dr. Alexander Monro Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in that University. He graduated Doctor of Medicine at Edinburgh 12th September 1807 (D.M.I.—de Epilepsiâ) shortly after which he settled in London under the auspices of his uncle Dr. MacQueen and on 25th June 1810 was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians. Dr. MacKinnon practised for many years in London and was Physician to the Royal Caledonian Asylum. Eventually he withdrew from practice and retired to Tunbridge Wells but ultimately returned to London and

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died at his house in Norland Square on 10th June 1849. The late Dr. Hawkins told me that he understood that Dr. MacKinnon had the care of the Sobieski Stuarts when they were children.

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JOHN MACKINNON

served the Kirk of Eynort in Minginish and the Chapel of St. Assind in Bracadale, Skye temp. Charles II. and James VII. when it appears that Episcopalian Ministers were settled in Skye.

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CATHERINE MACKINNON.

The "Queen" for 8th December 1894 has the following interesting notice: "Catherine MacKinnon the Scotswoman who born and bred on the Ross of Mull, served as nurse for many years in the Imperial Court of Russia, was the daughter of a Highland crofter. From the primitive little school of Visken she was sent to Edinburgh by the kindness of Malcolm MacDonald, tacksman of Uva. Through the late Dr. Norman MacLeod, she entered the service of a Russian nobleman connected with the Russian Royal House and soon afterwards was received as nurse in the Imperial household itself, Alexander II. (father of the late Czar) then a child, remaining under her charge for many years. During the troubles which led to the Crimean War, Catherine then old and infirm, decided to leave the Russian Court. When the war broke out, she quitted St. Petersburg and went to reside at Florence and when bidding goodbye to the Czar Nicholas I. she desired him as a parting wish to treat well any Highland soldiers who might fall prisoners into his hands—a wish to which the Czar readily promised acquiescence. Catherine ended her days at Florence. The late Czar did not forget his father's nurse. Only two years ago he ordered a tweed suit woven under the smoky *cabers* of a Ross of Mull's weaver's house. The cloth was died with the lichen which grew on the whin rocks not far from the spot where Catherine MacKinnon skipped and romped a bare-footed, bare-headed Highland lassie." Many extraordinary stories were current at various times concerning Catherine such as that the Czar insisted on placing her in the

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coffin with his own hands assisted by his brother. But with the help of Mr. Duncan MacKinnon I have sifted these and decided that they are mere fables. However I think the story as it stands has a very fair spice of romance about it—and I believe the story to be strictly true.

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHARLES KENNETH MACKINNON

of the Bengal Staff Corps, son of Dr. Kenneth MacKinnon of Corry was gazetted to the 73rd Regiment in 1858. He was soon transferred to the 63rd N.I., thence to the 3rd Punjaub Infantry and 6th Punjaub Infantry of which latter corps he became Adjutant in 1864. With the 73rd Regiment he served against the mutineers the Nepaul Frontier (medal) and with the 6th P.I. through the Umbeyla Expedition 1863-4 when he was specially mentioned for his gallantry. He was severely wounded at Kohat in the Affridi affair of 1868 and was again specially mentioned for gallant conduct in the field (medal and clasp). Colonel MacKinnon died in 1887.

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MAJOR ALEXANDER MACKINNON E.I.C.S.,

son of John 2nd of Kyle was gazetted to 21st N.I. in 1809. The India Office Report (1816) says "The activity and zeal displayed by Lieutenant MacKinnon in causing the dispersion of the followers of a dacoit, the Governor General considers to be highly creditable to him."

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CAPTAIN NEIL MACKINNON

brother of the above was appointed Ensign in 93rd Highlanders in 1802 and obtained his company in 1813. He was in charge of a company at the taking of Capetown in 1806. The 93rd remained there till 1814 and proceeding to Newfoundland missed the glories of the Peninsular and Waterloo campaigns. Captain MacKinnon retired 1823.

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RODERICK MACKINNON

was born in Skye 1750, joined the "Black Watch" in 1780 and served with it in India against Tippoo Sahib, receiving many wounds in action. He died aged 84 and is said to have retained his vigour and agility to the last, as an octogenarian dancing the "Gille Callum!"

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BOMBARDIER PETER MACKINNON,

grandson of the above, joined the Royal Marines in 1851 and on transference to the R.M.A. went to the Baltic in H.M.S. "Royal George" and in 1854 to the Black Sea in H.M.S. "Spiteful," was present at Kinburn and Sebastopol being 1st captain of the after pivot gun in the former action. He returned to England in 1857 one of the *nine* survivors out of a crew of 160 officers and men who left home with her in 1854.

In 1859 en route to America he with others saved the ship in a tremendous storm on the Newfoundland Banks and was *personally* thanked by the Queen on his return but he was so severely injured that he had to be discharged with a pension in 1860. I believe he is still alive.

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REV. WILLIAM MACKINNON

was born in co. Antrim, Ireland 1719 of Highland parentage, emigrated to America before 1750, married and was for many years a Presbyterian Minister in Delaware having founded the White Clay Creek Church near Wilmington in 1760 and died there in 1890 at the age of 90. His son COLONEL WILLIAM MACKINNON was born in Delaware and was an officer of the Delaware Regiment in the Revolutionary War. He died in 1810 aged 52. He left a son THOMAS McKEAN THOMPSON MACKINNON who from 1830 to 1842 was a member for Delaware in the House of Representatives of the U.S. and was in 1850 Secretary of the Interior. His son became a Circuit Judge of the third Judicial Circuit and retired about eight years ago; his son again JOHN D. MACKINNON is an Attorney-at-Law in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

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REV. N. N. MACKINNON

is a Roman Catholic Priest of S. Francis Xavier's College, New York and is son of Alexander MacKinnon who went when quite a boy from the county of Inverness directly to Prince Edward Island (now in Canada) about 1805 and lived there till his death in 1860.

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THE MACKINNONS OF MISHINISH.

It was only quite recently through correspondence with Mr. George Stayley Brown of Boston, U.S.A. who is a lineal descendant [great great grandson] of Ian na Mishinish (John of Mishinish) that I discovered the existence of this large and important branch of the family. I am glad to take this opportunity of thanking him for his laborious investigations without which these memoirs would have been much the poorer.

It is well known that the 28th Chief Lachlan Mòr had one son John of Mishinish by his second marriage with Miss MacLeod of MacLeod. We now know that John married Anne only daughter of Donald 14th Chief of the Macdonalds of Clanranald (Captain of Clanranald) by his second wife Margaret daughter of John MacKenzie of Kildun. By her he had several daughters whose names have been lost and three sons 1. John 2. Ranald and 3. Donald. Of the youngest son* Donald we hear no more, but the two elder went to America as we shall presently see. At this period John of Mishinish resided at the family estate of that name in the northern part of the Island of Mull. He is said to have died there circa. 1759 but there is some reason to suppose that he followed his sons across the Atlantic. However that may be John his eldest son became an Ensign in the old Black Watch (42nd Regiment) and exchanged into the 77th Montgomerie's Highlanders his commission as Lieutenant in that corps bearing date 16th September 1758, and the probability is that he obtained a death vacancy as the regiment lost five lieutenants in the sanguinary conflict at Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburg Penn.) fought in September of that year. At the close of the memorable struggle with the French for the possession of Canada in 1763 John went to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia and in 1767 when the lands

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* Unless he be the Rev. Daniel, see seq.—ED.

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of the township were granted, he received five shares (4,690 acres); and his four sons, John junior, Martin, Norman and James, minors whom he had left in England, received one share each—in the aggregate 3,588 acres. The township of Yarmouth was first settled in 1761 by a few families from New England. Previous to that date, the country was an unbroken forest. Settling at Chebogue Point John at once made a "clearing" of 30 or 40 acres. It is said that he was a well-educated, active and enterprising man and as his grants included large areas of Salt Marsh adjoining the Chebogue River, he had made preparations for raising stock on a large scale. In 1767 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace, but on the 7th of January 1774 while on his way to Argyle about 15 miles distant to visit his brother Ranald (of whom hereafter), he was drowned at the Tusket Islands Sluice. His body was discovered and buried in the Chebogue Cemetery. His eldest son John entered the 63rd (West Suffolk) Regiment and served as Captain in that corps throughout the American Revolutionary War and died Major of the regiment, s.p., previous to 1818.

His second son Martin became a Sergeant in the "Black Watch" and died at Manchester about 1815 leaving a son Cyrus-Martin who was living in 1844. Norman, the third visited Yarmouth in 1784 and married in England leaving issue.

James the youngest probably died young and there were daughters whose names are not known.

On the decease of his wife, Lieutenant John MacKinnon married again (probably in Halifax) and had two more sons Robert born in 1764 who died in Jamaica on 11th November 1803 and William born in 1766 who died at Chegoggin in Yarmouth 22nd October 1849 in his 84th year.

For the descendants of Robert and William to the present day see the Family Tree.

We now return to Ranald 2nd son of John of Mishinish. When the 77th (Montgomerie's Highlanders) were raised at Stirling, Ranald obtained an Ensigncy, his commission bearing date 10th January 1757. He proceeded with his regiment to Halifax and New York and was promoted lieutenant after the attack on Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburg Penn.) his commission

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bearing date 21st September 1758. In 1760 a detachment of the regiment of which his company formed a part was engaged in an expedition against the Cherokees when some of the officers were killed and Lieutenant Ranald MacKinnon was wounded. The same detachment proceeded in September 1762 from New York by sea to take possession of S. John's Newfoundland then held by the French. Ranald was thus engaged in the last as well as the first action of the war of 1757—1763.

At the close of the war Ranald determined to remain in America and having married at Halifax N.S. Letitia daughter of Major Piggott, he accompanied the surveying parties despatched to the S.W. coasts of Nova Scotia, thus becoming acquainted with Argyle where he spent the remainder of his life except an occasional residence at Halifax, at Windsor while in command of Fort Edward and at Shelbourne after the arrival there of the Loyalists in 1783.

In common with other officers of the Highland Regiments who were rewarded for their services in America by grants of lands in different parts of Nova Scotia, Ranald MacKinnon received extensive grants both of lands and islands in Argyle and when the time came for its establishment the Government allowed him the signal honour of naming the township after his native county in Scotland. He was one of the first Justices of the Peace appointed for the district, his commission bearing date 1766 and for 40 years he held the office of Collector of Customs and Excise.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution and on the organization in 1775 of the 84th (Royal Highland Emigrant) Regiment, he was active in raising men. He and John Macdonald of Glenaladale were the second and third captains appointed for Nova Scotia; and from June 1776 till the close of the war in 1783, Ranald was in command of Fort Edward, Windsor, 40 miles from Halifax with a detachment of the 84th consisting of three subalterns, three sergeants and 100 rank and file.

In 1776 he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the Militia of South Western Nova Scotia.

Extracts from the letter-book of Alexander MacDonald who had the chief arrangement of the enlistment addressed to Major

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Small a distinguished 42nd soldier who commanded the battalion dated from Halifax in 1776 shew his opinion of Ranald. Thus, "I have levelled the men here into five companies of 40 men each and given the command of two of them to John Macdonald and Ranald MacKinnon as captains--I dare say our regiment is 600 strong now." And again "As for Ranald Mackinnon he is beyond doubt as brave and worthy an officer as any in the King's service; he has a wife and five children; he forsook his place at Argyle where he was beginning to live comfortably by dint of hard labour for 12 years. He never will serve under a junior officer, nor in any station below a captain." And again "It is with inexpressible pleasure and satisfaction I have received your kind favour--I did not feel half so much upon the receipt of my own commission as when I received account of Ranald MacKinnon's being issued. . . . I am to form a company of Grenadiers and another of Light Infantry. The Grenadiers I take myself and the Light Infantry to Ranald MacKinnon who I believe is as fit for a Light Infantry Company as any in His Majesty's service without exception." Once more "Captain MacKinnon with his whole company is going to his place at Cape Sable (Argyle) to secure some part of his property that is threatened by the rebels. I wish I may see him and them safe but I am very much afraid. It was out of mere goodness of heart and humanity that General Massey gave him leave to go to save what he could for his family."

The descendants of Ranald will be found in due order on the Family Tree.

Ranald and his nephew John seem to have kept in close touch with each other till the decease of the former in 1805 at the age of 70 after which his estates were supervised by his son-in-law Dr. Richard Fletcher who was subsequently granted letters of administration of the estate of John MacKinnon late of London, Great Britain and late Major in H.M. 63rd Regiment, under date 19th January 1818. Several letters are extant between them which throw light on the affairs of the Mishinish family at this period. Thus John writes Ranald from Falmouth, England, 13th February 1783 announcing his arrival with his regiment in the old country at the termination of the American War and mentions "the present peace and the situation of the regiment (63rd) preventing him

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from forming any project with regard to futurity." And again from London on 12th May in the same year instructing Ranald to settle his late father's affairs in Halifax and Yarmouth, to pay his debts and to take charge of his father's and his own properties in Yarmouth township. Writing again on the following 19th July he sends Ranald a power of attorney executed in London and bearing the signature and seal of Nathanael Newnham, Lord Mayor of London more fully empowering his uncle to act in the premises. Towards the end of 1784 he sent his brother Norman out to Yarmouth who duly made his appearance there in September and a letter from Ranald to his nephew Captain John under date 28th October 1784 gives an amusing account of Norman's early career in the county. What became of Norman does not appear but it is not supposed that he remained long either in Argyle or Yarmouth but returned to England.

In one of John's letters (1783) to Ranald he says "I have sent you March who is a good boy and who it cost me some pains to procure for you." This was a young negro slave. Ranald imported other negroes to be employed upon his lands at Argyle. These he at length set free and established upon a MacKinnon Grant at Salmon River, seven miles from Yarmouth town, where some of their descendants still remain.

Writing to his uncle in the same year John says "In order to enable me to comply with your request respecting the *Mull Estate*, I have countermanded a little purchase I had recommended Montresor to make for me in Kent and have wrote to Muirhead [his financial agent in Glasgow] respecting it and to gratify you. If it comes within my reach I will purchase it and then you may come and reside on it for my ignorance of the language and the habits of life I have been accustomed to would make me a very unpopular landlord and I am too old to adopt a new mode of living and learn a new language; besides, never having been in the country and having strove since I can remember anything to eradicate from my memory *my ever having had a title* to a thing I had no prospect of enjoying, makes me rather loathe to do what I know must be most agreeable to you *from having been educated there*."

And Ranald who seems to have kept copies of his letters in those days writing to his nephew from Argyle N.S. on 9th

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February 1784 says, "Although the purchasing of the *Mull Estate* would certainly contribute to the greatest gratification I could possibly obtain as well as indulging me in my hobby horse, family pride, yet I would not wish you on any account to countermand a more eligible purchase to please me. If it is bought I will be glad to live on it and do the best I can for you but you may perceive from my hints all along that my utmost desire (if I had but bread and water) is to live in some place where I may enjoy your society for riches never was my idol. I have much more pleasure in my friend to whom I could at times unbosom my sentiments and being now thoroughly acquainted with your temper and disposition makes me the more anxious."

Finally Ranald writes to John in February 1784 and says "Is it not strange that I cannot receive one letter from your aunt (one of Ranald's sisters name unknown), although I have frequently got some from MY COUSIN, COLIN BOISDALE and in his letters I enclose all my letters to her; if she were dead you must have known of it from *your sisters* (names also unknown). Be kind to her, my dear John, for God knows she is deserving. I am almost tired of writing to her to no purpose. She certainly looks for me home and not without reason from the letters I wrote to her some time ago but since then I have wrote to her of my detention here yet a while. Besides she must have heard of it from others."

Now in MacKenzie's "History of the MacDonalds of Clan Ranald," we find Donald MacDonald 3rd Benbecula and 14th of Clan Ranald (who died in 1730). He had by his *second wife* Miss MacKenzie of Kildun, Alexander 1st of Boisdale in South Uist whose eldest son and heir Colin was the COUSIN COLIN OF BOISDALE mentioned in Ranald's last letter. Alexander first of Boisdale had one daughter by his second wife, viz., Anne who married JOHN 3RD SON OF LACHLAN MÒR MacKinnon of Strathardale.

[This gentleman was * John of Mishinish. The eldest brother

* Mr. Charles E. Brown, of Yarmouth N.S., is in possession of an oil painting of which by his courtesy I possess a photo representing an old Highlander in the full MacKinnon dress. Tradition in the family has always regarded this to be a portrait of John of Mishinish and as the picture used to be in the possession of a lady of the family who lived very shortly after the time of Mishinish there seems to be strong evidence that the tradition is correct.

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being John Og who died v.p. and left a son the famous John Dubh 29th Chief of MacKinnon. The second brother being Donald who changed his name to Daniel on emigrating to Antigua and whose descendant ultimately succeeded to the Chiefship. These two were by Lachlan Mòr's *first* wife, John of Mishinish by the *second.*]

Here then we have further proof if that were needed that the family of Mishinish existed in America and a study of the Tree will shew that his representatives abound in that country and in Canada at the present day.

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* LIEUT. JOHN MACKINNON

of the 104th Regt. was second son of Capt. William MacKinnon who was a great grandson of Tearlach Og founder of the Keanouchrach branch (see Tree for this and Capt. William's descendants).

In an obituary notice in the "North Sydney Herald" (Cape Breton Island) 1862 we find as follows:—"Died at North Sydney, John MacKinnon Esqre, aged 78 years, formerly a Lieutenant in H.M.'s 104th Regt. of Foot [King's Volunteers raised in 1760 disbanded in 1763, raised again in 1781 disbanded 1783, a third time raised as Royal Manchester Volunteers in 1794 and disbanded in 1796 a fourth time raised in 1805 disbanded 1817.] on the half-pay list from 1817 to his decease. He was born at S. Augustine's, East Florida, where his father, the late Capt. William MacKinnon was then serving in the Loyalist Army, who lost much property by espousing the Royal side having a large plantation in Florida but received the appointment of Secretary of Cape Breton which he held for 18 years and died at Sydney in 1811 from the effect of wounds received on board H.M.S. 'Bristol,' Admiral Sir Peter Parker in the attack upon Sullivan's Island, Charleston, South Carolina during the American War of Independence."

The subject of this notice was in command of the 1st Battalion Company of the 104th Regt. during the whole of the last war with the United States and served under Sir Gordon Drummond, Sir G. Fitzgerald, Sir Charles M'Carthy and Sir John Harvey.

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* The seal of this gentleman varies from that usually worn by the MacKinnons, the dexter side having a stag and hound in the first quartering and in the second a lion rampant is added to the usual boar's head.



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He filled the position of Magistrate of the County and Colonel of the Militia for many years and up to the time of his death. His last mortal remains, attended by the masonic body of which he was a venerable member and a large number of his friends in life, were consigned to their narrow bed beside the grave of his father in the burial ground of the Parish Church of St. George, Sydney. His widow and nine children have lost a fond husband and indulgent parent.

The New England Historical Genealogical Society gives a list of British officers serving in America 1757-1774, amongst whom the following MacKinnons appear:—

James MacKinnon, Ensign 1st Regt., 16th Sept. 1758.
John MacKinnon, Ensign 47th Regt., 24th Feb. 1762.
*Ranald MacKinnon, Ensign 77th Regt., 16th Jan. 1757.
" " Lieut. 77th Regt., 21st Sept. 1758.
Robert MacKinnon, Lieut. 1st Regt., 25th Dec. 1756.
*John MacKinnon, Lieut. 77th Regt., 16th Sept. 1758.
Robert MacKinnon, Capt. Lieut. 35th Regt., 14th April 1759.
" " Capt. 35th Regt., 27th July 1760.

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## SIR WILLIAM MACKINNON, BARONET.

William MacKinnon was born at Campbeltown, Argyleshire, in 1823, in comparatively humble circumstances. He was not descended from the family of the Chiefs. After being trained to business in Glasgow, young MacKinnon went out to India in 1847 as working partner to Mr. MacKenzie who had for some time been running a general store in one of the smaller towns up the Ganges. So rapid was the prosperity of the firm after Mr. MacKinnon joined it that by 1855 it had established itself in Calcutta.

It was in that year that Mr. MacKinnon, who had already become known as a man of energy and integrity took up the suggestion of a skipper engaged in the Burmah trade, and laid the foundations of what afterwards became the British India Steam Navigation Company, one of the greatest shipping companies in the world. Under the intelligent and far-sighted management of Mr.

* Sons of John of Mishinish.

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MacKinnon, this enterprise at first confined to trade between India and other countries in Asia, rapidly developed until from England as a centre it established connexions throughout the whole of the East and included Australia in its operations.

It is impossible to enter into a detailed history of this great company which has done so much to sustain the reputation of England as the greatest commercial nation on the face of the globe. It has now a fleet of something like 110 vessels with over 1,300 officers and engineers and 10,000 European and native seamen, firemen and stewards. Its aggregate tonnage is over 270,000 tons. The company has not reached this stage of prosperity without discouragements; but with Mr. MacKinnon the leading spirit in the company no disaster ever shook the confidence of the shareholders or checked the steady progress of the enterprise.

Some 20 years ago the company established a mail service between Aden and Zanzibar greatly to the advantage of the latter. Mr. MacKinnon gained the confidence of the Sultan and so long ago as 1878 his Highness offered to make over his territories to the protection of the British Government through the agency of the head of the great shipping firm. Unfortunately the Government of the period did not see its way to accept the offer and hence we may truly say has arisen the trouble in connexion with what has since become British East Africa. It was in the end through Sir William MacKinnon that a portion of what the Sultan offered before has become annexed to the British Empire. Had it not been for the public spirit of Sir William MacKinnon, Germany might now have been supreme over the whole of East Africa from the Rovuma to the Jub and westwards to the great lakes and the Upper Nile. There is reason to believe that on a hint from Lord Salisbury's Government the Company took possession of Uganda and there can be no doubt that the difficulties and anxieties connected with the Uganda troubles had much to do in bringing about the ill-health which led to the death of one of the most enterprising merchant princes of our time. It was mainly through his influence that the funds were obtained for the Emin Relief Expedition under Mr. Stanley.

Sir William MacKinnon maintained his Scotch simplicity of manner and habits to the end. He was a devoted member of the Free Church of Scotland and a perfect type of the old-fashioned

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Scotch Presbyterian. He was a striking combination of the rigid and methodical man of business and the liberal but unostentatious benefactor.

To his own church he was a generous donor and many a poor and struggling man could tell of his warm-hearted liberality.

Sir William unsuccessfully contested Argyleshire in the Liberal interest in 1885. In 1882 he had been made a Companion of the Indian Empire and in 1889 the Queen created him a baronet in recognition of his eminent services to the Empire. In 1856 Sir William married Janet, daughter of Mr. Robert Jameson of Glasgow. Sir William left no issue. He had a wide circulation of friends of all parties, all creeds, and all classes.

Such is the sketch of this eminent Clansman's life as given in "The Times;" to it I may add a few other incidents of his life which I have been able to learn. They are mostly from the pen of the Marquis of Lorne who was one of his greatest admirers. Referring to the Glasgow Bank failure he remarks: "When associated with others older and of more experience in banking than himself, in the directorate of the Glasgow Bank, Sir William MacKinnon protested against a procedure which he thought bad and, finding that he was not listened to he resigned. Years afterwards when the policy he had objected to brought down the institution with a crash from which many persons in Scotland still greatly suffer, it was attempted to make him responsible for the failure. Advisers came to him begging him in his own interest, to compromise the matter. They argued that it would damage his reputation if his name were dragged into the law suit, that a given payment would be taken in satisfaction, that he had best compromise the affair and then he would hear no more of it.

"Nothing could have happened better calculated to show the mettle of William MacKinnon. He declared he would fight it to the end. He was unjustly assailed and he would shew the world that it was so. Not a bawbee would he pay for a compromise. He had given counsel long years before which had been rejected and he had declined to have anything to do with the Bank if guided on the principles he condemned. He would prove to all men that he was right. And so the indictment was brought and they attempted to make him liable for that which nine years before he had left the

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directorate for condemning. But after a weary trial, instead of trouble, came justification and triumph for the judges one after the other in giving judgment, not only exonerated him from all blame but expressed their sorrow that the advice he had given had not been taken. If Mr. MacKinnon's voice had been listened to, the Glasgow Bank smash would never have occurred."

The result of the trial was a personal triumph to him and a homage to that steadfastness of character for which he was so conspicuous. He was essentially a God-fearing man and his "plantations" were often church stations and much money both at home and abroad did he give in aid of his Kirk. He would often say that he attributed all his success in life, under God, to the keeping of Sunday. He would seldom open even a telegram on that day—a letter never if he could help it. The rest thus given to him he considered an immense good. Not naturally strong his slight frame was apt to be shaken by the cough that finally killed him. His work was constant during the week but on Sunday he would sit in the morning regularly with his Bible before him, and during the day would walk and talk and enjoy society. He was most sociable and full of fun and good spirits. Tenacious of his religious views he was tolerant and had seen far too much of the world to expect all men to be cut on one pattern, bodily or spiritual, and the London Presbyterian Churches knew him well. A fifty-pound cheque was always at hand for them if they needed it, and his gifts of money very often very large. He loved to give secretly and one of his last injunctions was with regard to a present "Do not let my name appear." His chief delight was the Book of Psalms; and indeed he disliked to have anything else sung at worship. When twitted about this he was always most good-natured, but would say "Aye there's nothing like David's Psalms."

A most constant friend he would not drop anyone because he heard evil of him. Rather would he tell him straight out what he thought of him if there were occasion to do so.

In dress he was neatness itself. Always upright in carriage his keen blue eyes were most observant in their expression. He would say of artists "they can't manage my nose;" but the nose was a very well formed one (curiously characteristic of many members of the Clan), of fine outline, with clear cut nostrils and its prominence was re-

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lieved by a fine mouth and chin. His hair which had been black was still abundant in silvery grey until shortly before his death. He wore only short whiskers and in his appearance the cleanliness and activity of his mind spoke in his movements. Decision and energy were singularly blended in him and his accent had that indefinite charm which accompanies the "Highland manner."

People said he was too masterful and inclined to treat others as he would the clerks in his office. But he was always especially kind to those under him although he was not slow to tell them when they were wrong. His outspoken ways when addressed to others were sometimes misunderstood. He had no idea of concealing his opinion if he thought that he could influence others to adopt his views or if he imagined that a man or for that matter a woman was in the habit of doing what his King David would have called "exalting their horn." A girl who had been speaking rather conceitedly one day was asked by him if as a child she had never received a "good old-fashioned whipping" and she quoted the saying in later life with an approbation that did her credit.

He was, perhaps, too independent to make a good Parliamentary candidate. When contesting Argyleshire he had no notion of sacrificing his opinions to please anyone. "Where will you sit in the House?" asked a puzzled elector. "Wherever I can find a seat" he replied.

His kindness to the poor, if they were deserving, was most constant. In his latter years he bought a property in Skye in the old MacKinnon country of Strath. The crofters and cottars had a good time of it when he became their landlord. Provided with Savings' Banks, Telegraph, better houses and cottages and remunerative labour, they must have deeply felt his loss.

"Let us hope" says Lord Lorne, "that his work will live after him. Let us trust that the honour of the British Government will enable a far more numerous people than his poor tenantry on the Scottish western shores to bless his name. If Britain be true to her old traditions she will not let the hopes raised by the life of her great citizen die. If our national pride has not utterly forsaken us, the whole of the regions MacKinnon opened up in equatorial Africa will have cause to remember him as the precursor of that light and liberty which they will owe to the last years of a life simple and

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crowned with the nobility of great and good deeds done in faith and honour."

Amid many charitable bequests, he left £27,250 to be applied as follows:

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| *Nett Capital £4,500 Income £140 12s. 6d. per annum.* | For Presbyterian boys of Highland descent, born in Arran or Argyllshire, possessing a knowledge of Gaelic, who may be attending any of the Scottish Universities, or any Presbyterian High Class School. £20 each per annum. |
| *Nett Capital £4,500. Income £140 12s. 6d. per annum.* | For deserving and needful young men attending any of the Scottish Universities of the name of *MacKinnon*, who can shew their Highland descent of that name for at least two generations previous. £40 each per annum. |
| *Nett Capital £4,500. Income £140 12s. 6d. per annum.* | For young male Highlanders born in the Counties of Bute (including Arran) Argyll, Inverness or Ross, to enable them to attend *higher class Schools* for three years. £12 10s. each per annum. |
| *Nett Capital £4,750. Income £148 8s. 9d. per annum.* | For young lads or girls of the name of *MacKinnon* (or the *descendants* of *Daniel MacKinnon*) possessing qualifications of such nature as shall be fixed by Trustees. £13 10s. each per annum. |
| *Nett Capital £9,000. Income £281 5s. 0d. per annum.* | Bursaries of £40 each, originally intended for Free Church Students, but Cancelled for such by Codicil, and now to be applied for *Cognate* (*i.e.*, Educational) purposes. |

Lady MacKinnon only survived her husband a few months and died in 1894.

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## DUNCAN MACKINNON.

No notice of Clansmen would be complete without a reference to the founder of the Clan MacKinnon Society who is as the saying goes "in life" and long may he so remain. He is the youngest son of

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the late John MacKinnon of Kilpatrick, Mull, direct representative Chieftain of the MacKinnons of Griban, Mull by Mary daughter of Colin Kennedy of Ardfinaig, Ross of Mull and was born in 1838. He was educated at the Parish School of Bunessan, Mull and he also attended a Gaelic School there for five years. He left his native place in 1856 and has held several situations of trust in Glasgow since then. He married in 1879 Mary Ann McGilivray. He is connected with a large number of Highland associations and benevolent societies in Glasgow. He is one of the founders of an association and charitable society in connection with the Islands of Mull and Iona of which Sir Fitzroy McLean Bart. is Hon. President and he held the office of President, Vice-President and Secretary until his resignation in 1897 on leaving Glasgow. He is also, as we have seen, founder of the Clan MacKinnon Society and was its first President in 1891 and 1892. I had been in correspondence with him for years previous to that on Clan matters and I remember well in one of his letters his expressing his earnest desire that the Clan might be brought together in some way to their mutual benefit and I at once promised to interest the family of the Chief in the matter and their cordial co-operation with the resident Highlanders soon brought about the desired result.

He is considered a great authority on Celtic matters and more particularly on the Gaelic language, and has delivered many lectures on the subject before various Celtic societies in Scotland.

He has also often been called upon to judge pipe music and dancing at Highland gatherings throughout the land and also at the Scotch games at the Paris Exhibition of 1889.

His father was the 36th representative Chieftain of the Griban branch of our Clan. Griban is now in the possession of the Duke of Argyle, but Duncan's ancestors lost it many years ago. It was the first seat of the Clan after its emigration from the borders of Perthshire and Argyllshire and as early as the 11th century, but in the 13th century Mishnish in Lower Mull became the principal residence of the Lairds. Duncan's ancestors, however, who descended from the younger brother of the then Chief remained in Griban, and were generally termed "the MacKinnons of the black Whelks" (Clan Ionnmhuin na Faochag) and received that name in consequence of the large number of whelks in a narrow channel

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between Griban and Ulva the seat of the MacQuarries another Clan by the bye of the "Sliochd Ailpein" who migrated about the same time as ours.

No Clansman loves his race more keenly than does Duncan, and long may he live to see the fruits of his labours.

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DONALD DE BURGH D'ARCY MACKINNON

deserves a notice if only to shew that the rising generation are following in the steps of their ancestors. He is the son of Hamilton Nisbet Craufurd MacKinnon by his wife Henrietta Mary D'Arcy daughter of de Burgh D'Arcy of Houndswood and Castletown co. Galway, Ireland, and grandson of Capt. D. W. MacKinnon killed at Jhansi during the Mutiny whose wife was a daughter of Captain Francis Hamilton uncle of the ninth Lord Belhaven and Stenton.

Donald is a worthy scion of the race. Born in 1870 he was chosen at an early age to compete at the Royal Military Tournament in London in 1893 as a representative of Australia's picked team and was one of the Queen's escort at the Imperial Institute and at the Duke of York's wedding. On both occasions he was directly attached to the royal carriage and to commemorate the occasion Her Majesty ordered that each of the Australian escort (14 in all) should be presented with a photograph of herself on which she inscribed her name. He is now engaged in the transport of cavalry horses between Australia and Madras and no doubt he will distinguish himself further in the future.

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COLONEL WALTER CARR MACKINNON

joined the 55th Regiment in 1852, afterwards served in the 64th and 87th Regiments and was tranferred to the 3rd Buffs (East Kent) in 1867. He served in the Indian Mutiny and the Gourki Afridi Campaign for both of which he possessed medals. Having been always greatly interested in Musketry in India, he was in 1885 appointed Chief Instructor of Musketry at Hythe on his return home. On retirement he was appointed Secretary of the National Rifle Association with residence at Bisley, holding the

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post at all the meetings except the first. Col. MacKinnon died in 1899 in his sixty-fifth year.

His eldest son Walter is an architect in London. Alexander his second son is 2nd Lieutenant in the 48th (Northamptonshire) Regiment while the youngest Edmund-Julius-Gordon is a Midshipman R.N.

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## THE DUKE DE GRAMONT.

I cannot but feel that a short account of the career of this nobleman who was brother-in-law of our present Chief, will be of interest to our readers. His father who was Premier Duke of France and Prince de Bidâche (the last independent principality in France) resided principally in Scotland during the troubles of the Great French Revolution. The subject of our sketch spent his early infancy at Holyrood House in Edinburgh and later at the Royal Palace of the Hradschin at Prague in Bohemia where his family had brought him at the time when they shared the misfortunes and exile of Charles X.

Returning to France in 1834 he was appointed an officer of Artillery on leaving the Polytechnic School and on retirement from the service was sent in the capacity of Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Hesse thence to that of Sardinia where he was successful in negotiating the entrance of Piedmont into the Anglo-French Alliance against Russia.

In 1857 the Duke de Gramont was appointed Ambassador at Rome, a trying and delicate mission owing to the serious events which culminated in the usurpation of the Papal States for the benefit of Italian unity and which were naturally a source of extreme difficulty for the Ambassador of France. But the paternal goodnees of Pope Pius IX. did much towards softening the bitterness of the situation.

Ambassador at Vienna in 1862 the Duke was actively engaged in the negotiations which led to the treaty of Prague, he signed the concession of Venetia to France and from France to Italy while he concluded several important commercial treaties with Austria. Subsequently he became Minister of Foreign Affairs in M. Ollivier's Ministry of 1869 and resigning his portfolio shortly afterwards he retired into private life, spending the remainder of his days in

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writing memoirs and valuable works on the stirring political events in which he had borne so prominent a part.

It will he interesting to British readers to know that the family of de Gramont is connected with that of the Tankervilles; the Dowager Countess of Tankerville who died in 1865 was a Mademoiselle de Gramont and aunt of the Duke who is the subject of this notice. He died as we have seen elsewhere in 1880.

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LAUCHLAN MACKINNON, JUNIOR,

was an advocate in Aberdeen and Commissioner on Deeside to the Prince of Wales. He was educated at Aberdeen University and admitted a member of the Society of Advocates in 1842. He had an extensive legal practice, was for 20 years the agent at Aberdeen for the British Linen Bank, and was for a long time Belgian Consul at Aberdeen. To his persistent efforts was due the introduction of tramways in Aberdeen 26 years ago. He died in 1899 in his 80th year.

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WILLIAM KENNETH MACKINNON

is the worthy president of the Clan Society and has been thrice running elected to that important office. Born in 1848 in the Hutchisontown district of Glasgow, he has lived in that city all his life. His grandparents were engaged in the farming industry of the Isle of Mull and his father was born close to Tobermory, but the family removed. W. K. MacKinnon's father became apprenticed to the engineering profession in Glasgow. The rest of the family went to Prince Edward Island where they settled on the farm of Western Covehead.

When young MacKinnon's apprenticeship was completed, he married an Ayrshire lady belonging to the town of Beith who survived the birth of her only child, the subject of this notice, but a few days. The infant was brought up by his maternal grandmother and was ultimately adopted by his uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. John MacMillan, his father having joined his own parents in Prince Edward Island. To this good couple he owes all his early training and the happiest recollections of his life. Educated at the Com-

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mercial Road Academy, he proceeded to the Andersonian University. He next joined his uncle in the business of cork manufacture and on that gentleman's retirement in 1873 became head of the firm which was established more than a century ago. Taking great interest in the Good Templars' Association, he was appointed conductor of its choir and in 1873 married Jane Love Robertson (see Clan Donachie) the issue of which is an only daughter, Jeanie Kennedy. Mr. MacKinnon has been a great traveller and on one occasion while travelling in Canada with his wife and daughter, came across his father for the first time in his life, spending a few pleasant days with him at Moncton, New Brunswick where he held a position in the Inter-Colonial Railway work-shops, having lost a second wife and by her had a family of nine children grown up and scattered through the States and Canada. Strange to relate this was the only occasion in life that father and son have ever met!

Under the Presidency of Mr. W. K. MacKinnon the Clan Society has largely and successfully progressed and it is much to be hoped that they will long be able to retain his interest and services.

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REV. DANIEL MACKINNON

was admitted Deacon by the Bishop of London on the 18th December 1768 at the Chapel Royal, St. James' and three days later was admitted Priest at the same place. Immediately after this he went out as a missionary to the Plantations in Maryland. It is further recorded that he was very active in founding Churches in the colony and visited England subsequently to solicit funds and books for that purpose. After accomplishing his object, he embarked for America but the ship was lost at sea and no traces of her passengers or crew were ever found. His only daughter married Joseph Rogers of Maryland. Some have thought that Daniel is identical with Donald youngest son of John of Mishinish, the change of name being not uncommon on emigration; but of this we have no proof.

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Although his name does not appear in the Tree as a descendant of the line of Chiefs which indeed is the case with many of

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our distinguished Clansmen, I cannot close this chapter without referring to THOMAS A. MACKINNON who occupies a very prominent position in the United States of America—a position which he reached altogether through his own energy and ability.

I frequently find him spoken of in correspondence in highly complimentary terms and I am well assured that he is a Clansman worthy in every respect of the ancient name he bears.

His present post is that of First Vice-President and General Manager of the Boston and Maine Railroad, St. Johnsbury and Lake Champlain Railroad Company.

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# APPENDIX.

## PROSE WORKS BY MEMBERS OF THE CLAN.

THE limits of these Memoirs will not allow me to do more than give a very short notice of the books written by Clansmen except in a very few instances but I venture to suggest to my fellow Clansmen who like myself are proud of their race to make a collection of these for themselves. Of course many are out of print and exceedingly difficult to obtain but it is astonishing how many of these works may be picked up from time to time if a sharp look-out is kept among the lists of second-hand booksellers. I have myself succeeded in obtaining a great many thus, indeed the great majority of those recorded below.

I have in each instance, where possible, given the date and publisher which may assist the collector. The order is, as will be seen, not chronological.

1. "*A Tour through the British West Indies in the years 1802 and 1803, giving a particular account of the Bahama Islands*" by John Daniel MacKinnon. [London, printed for J. White, Horace's Head, Fleet Street; by R. Taylor, Black-horse Court, 1804.]

2. *A second edition* with an appendix giving a short tour through the State of New York and the Province of Upper Canada; originally published in some periodical works and addressed in a letter dated October 1798, to his brother the late Major-General Henry MacKinnon. [Printed for the same by S. Woolmer, Exeter 1812.]

The first edition is inscribed to Lieut.-Gen. Nugent, Lieut.-Governor of and Commander-in-Chief in Jamaica. In describing the town of Nassau, he speaks of one of the most experienced planters as being T. B. M'Kinnen. The "Edinburgh Review" 1804 says:—"The candid and modest spirit which prevails through the whole of this little work would have amply atoned for much greater violations of correct taste than any which we have been able to discover in the course of a very careful perusual."

3. "*The Philosophy of Evidence*" by John Daniel MacKinnon, Barrister-at-law [1812.]

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The work is of course legal and technical, but in the Appendix the author discourses most beautifully on a train of thought to which he was led by Heb. iv. 12 "The Word of God is a discerner of the thought and intents of the heart." He says he felt it so applicable when considering the utter insufficiency of all human power to detect them and concludes with a thoughtful remark that he who reads the Psalms with a competent degree of devotion will scarcely find any predicament or situation in life which he will not feel to be comprehended in the general truths they announce.

4. "*Military Service and Adventures in the Far East*" by Daniel Henry MacKinnon, 16th (Queen's) Lancers. [London, Charles Ollier, Southampton Street, Strand, 1847.] In the *first* edition the author says "By a cavalry officer." In the *second* he gives his name.

It is inscribed to Sir Henry Lushington Bart. "as a tribute of affectionate respect" and embraces the campaigns against the Afghans in 1839 and the Sikhs in 1845-6 besides describing life in India from 1838 to 1846. His modesty prevents him from giving any detailed account of his personal adventures which were many and startling but which I also refrain from recording as I feel that a son has no right to unveil the intentional reticence of a father.

The returns of killed and wounded in action are accurately given; without reckoning numerous skirmishes and reconnaisances, we had six thousand three hundred and ninety-five casualties at Ghuzni, Khelat, Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal and Sobraon. So it was no child's play! and of course this represents but a small proportion of our losses from other causes as is almost invariably the case. Besides, during this period, an army was *destroyed* at Caubul.

5. "*Lapland Life, or Summer Adventures in the Arctic Regions*" by Rev. Donald D. MacKinnon, M.A. [London, Kerby and Endean, 1877.]

This work is dedicated to the Rev. Sir Edward Repps Jodrel, Bart. and is an account of travels by the author of the "Memoirs of Clan Fingon."

6. "*A Journal of the Campaign in Portugal and Spain 1809-12*" by Major-General Henry MacKinnon.

This journal which was interrupted by the General's death at

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Ciudad Rodrigo is intensely interesting although the writer seldom alludes to his own brilliant share in the Peninsular Campaign.

I shall only extract from it his detailed account of the state of affairs in the autumn of 1811 for his remarks were highly valued by competent judges at the time.

Writing from Aldea de Ponte on 5th November in that year after 4 months sick leave he says: "It will be a difficult task for me to represent the state of this country, nor would its miseries have presented themselves to me in so strong a light, had I not been absent for nearly four months. They have been gradually increasing ever since this country was made the seat of war and cannot be so striking to the eye of a daily observer. All the treasures expended by our armies vanish the moment of their appearance, nor do they seem in the least to relieve the public or individual distress.

Of the population of the country through which the different columns of the enemy passed during their progress to our lines, one-third, taken on an average of the whole, has not returned; nor have the remaining two thirds much increased the population of that country which has afforded them refuge. I have already remarked that out of 300 families, not above 30 have returned to Sabugal; in the district between the Coa and Agueda and in those countries which continue the theatre of daily dispute, Sabugal may afford a fair average. I do not therefore think my estimate greatly exaggerated.

"The houses left without inhabitants are daily going to ruin, being exposed without repairs to the ravages of the elements and to the still more relentless ravages of the soldiery and even of the remaining inhabitants who are made thieves either from natural inclination or from want. The cattle of the country have almost entirely disappeared; nor are there sufficient left to till the ground so as to enable the remnant of the population to exist.

"The fields which I have often described as being but seldom allowed to take a preponderance over the heath and gumcestus are most of them now overgrown with weeds and will very soon return to their native heath. Near the towns and villages in Portugal the fields are generally enclosed with loose stone walls; through these a traveller has generally to pass for some distance. The road between these walls being narrow the materials with the assistance

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of the soldiery have been allowed to block them up and no attempt being made to clear them it often becomes dangerous to approach the towns: to avoid this a breach is made in the walls and the fields becoming the highway are constantly exposed to destruction. When I ask an inhabitant why he does not plant vegetables he replies 'it would only be for the soldiers.'

"To add to the destruction when a part of the army arrives at a cantonment immediately horses, mules and asses are turned loose into the enclosures. This may be avoided by a well-organized corps; but it generally happens and the mischief is often irreparable, before the unfortunate inhabitants have had time to make their representations, supposing them not to have fled. It is however far worse when the commissariat mules approach. Then nothing is respected; and as they often keep out of the reach of officers of rank, they are allowed to create havoc with impunity. When a dismal story reaches the ear of a superior, before he can put a stop to destruction, the swarm of mules are committing a repetition of outrage in another devoted spot. The extent of mischief may be measured by the number of brigade mules; in the third division only they amount to six hundred. Other fatal instruments of destruction are small detachments going from and coming to join the army, principally consisting of the sick; these parties are left in command of subaltern officers; and too often I am sorry to say they neglect their duty often leaving their parties to march by themselves and when arrived at the end of their day's march giving no directions to enforce regularity. This is felt like a blight along the whole line of communications from Lisbon to the Army.

"Lord Wellington's repeated orders to enforce regularity although they may have checked have not cured the evil. When a soldier is sick and wounded he fancies himself above law, but the unfortunate inhabitant finds that he has still force left to plunder and commit devastation. Want of subordination and proper regulations in an army have a stronger tendency to cause its own destruction than can be supposed by a common observer nor have I ever met with any military author who has sufficiently discussed this part of the subject. If the troops are in a country which has long been the seat of war whose resources are exhausted, whose magistrates have fled or whose power is become despicable—if in such a



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country parties to supply the soldiers' wants are not properly organized and invariably under the orders of officers, the doors, windows, floors and ultimately the roofs of the houses will be burnt for fuel, the green fields will be consumed for forage, and the soldiers particularly those attending officers will have an excuse for going to a distance and laying their hands on everything without distinction—and what will be the consequence? The resources of months will be consumed in a few days; the soldiers in the ruins of those very houses which they themselves have rendered uninhabitable will contract diseases which will cause the death of many and disable many more; the forage having been wantonly consumed, those animals destined to carry provisions or baggage will be starved and the army ultimately from disease occasioned by privations will be obliged to abandon its object and retire into a new country which will in its turn have to suffer.

"Had the French adopted sufficient precautions, Massena would not have been obliged to retire at so early a period from our lines before Lisbon. But in regard to interior economy, however imperfect we may be, yet in this we far excel our enemy."

7. "*The Rise, Progress and Present State of Public Opinion*" by William Alexander MacKinnon M.P. 1828.

8. "*History of Civilization and Public Opinion*" by W. A. MacKinnon, M.P., F.R.S. &c. [London, printed for Longman, Brown and Co. Paternoster Row 1846, the third edition by Henry Colburn, Great Marlborough Street 1849.]

These works have already been noticed *in loco.*

9. "*Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*" by Colonel MacKinnon [London, Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street 1833.]

This work has already received notice *in loco.* A very graceful reference to this elaborate work has been made by Colonel Ross of Bladensburg who continued the history down to the present day.

10. "*Steam Warfare in the Parana*" by Commander Lauchlan MacKinnon R.N. [London, Chas. Ollier, Southampton Street, Strand 1848.]

This is a narrative of operations by the combined squadrons of

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England and France in forcing a passage up that river in 1846 under Sir Charles Hotham.

It is inscribed to W. A. MacKinnon M.P. "by his affectionate son whose success in life is mainly attributable to following the good advice of a good father."

11. "*Atlantic and Transatlantic Sketches, Afloat and Ashore*" by Captain Lauchlan MacKinnon, R.N. [London Colburn and Co., Great Marlborough Street 1852.]

This was the result of a fourteen months trip through the United States and the book is written in a cheery and amusing style and reminds those who knew the author of his merry moods.

12. "*A Lighthouse Tour of Lake Superior*" by Captain Lauchlan MacKinnon, R.N. 1858.

MacKinnon was made a guest of the expedition fitted out by the United States Navy to make a lighthouse tour of 4,000 miles in which the whole system was to be re-organised.

13. "*A Treatise on the Public Health, Climate, Hygiene and Prevailing Diseases of Bengal and N.W. Provinces*" by Kenneth MacKinnon, M.D. [Cawnpore, 1848.]

The work is dedicated to Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant, C.B., Adjutant-General Bombay Army. Its details are purely medical.

14. "*Observations on the Wealth and Force of Nations*" by Charles MacKinnon.

On the title-page are the words "The pristine reminiscences of juvenile jucundity."

The work is dedicated to the memory of David Hume.

15. "*Essays on the Wealth and Force of Nations, the Authenticity of Ossian, Accompanyment, Existence of the Body, Fortification and Battle*" by Charles MacKinnon, 1785.

As to Ossian the author does not pretend to decide the question, declares he never saw any of the Gaelic copies but those McPherson has printed and finally supports the authenticity.



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16. "*Memorial to the High Court of Directors of H.E.I.C.*" by Charles MacKinnon, 1805.

This memorial is in reply to certain charges preferred against the author by Mr. Drummond, Chief of the H.C.'s factory at Canton.

17. "*Causa del Signor Alessandro MacKinnon suddito Britannico, banchieri e commerciante di Napoli, avanti il Regno d'Italia.*"

This defence is chiefly interesting on account of the chief actors in this cause and the letters written by Alexander MacKinnon to them and their replies. These include Lord Nelson, General Acton, Lady Hamilton, William Grenville, Charles Fox, Sir William Hamilton, William Pitt, Sir Robert Peel, George Canning, and Principe Castelcicala.

18. "*A sermon preached on Christmas Day, 1787, on the field of the battle of Kudguah, before Colonel Knudson and a Grand Detachment*" by D. MacKinnon, D.D. Chaplain to the 1st European Battalion (which is to be translated into Persian and other Asiatic languages).

[Head-quarters, Sultan Sujah's Palace at Raje Mahel 1st March 1788].

Two Texts Is. xi. 9 and Is. ii. 4.

19. "*Substance of Speech at the India House,*" by Charles MacKinnon, 16th April, 1833.

20. "*Speech of W. A. MacKinnon in the House of Commons, March 1832 on the Reform Bill.*"

21. "*Letter of D. MacKinnon to Lieutenant-Colonel Kirk-Patrick on teaching Greek and Latin to Natives of India.*" [Harleian Collection British Museum] 1801.

22. "*The case of Dencion Sing, Rajah of Chipandy*" by D. MacKinnon. [Harleian Collection British Museum] 1783.

23. "*Leisure Hours in the Study.*" [Essays on various subjects] by James MacKinnon Ph. D. S. Andrews. [London, Unwin, 1897], N.D.

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24. "*A Persian-English Grammar*" by Donald MacKinnon, D.D. [Calcutta 1791].

25. "*The Union of England and Scotland*" a study of international History by James MacKinnon Ph. D. S. Andrew's. [London, Longmans, 1896].

26. "*South African Traits*" by Rev. James MacKinnon [Edinburgh 1887].

27. "*Culture in Early Scotland*" by James MacKinnon Ph. D. S. Andrew's M.D. [London, Williams and Norgate, 1892].

28. "*Braefoot Sketches*" by James MacKinnon. [Paisley, Gardner, 1897].

29. *Ninian und sein Einfluss auf die Ausbreitung des Christenthums in Nord Britannien*" by James MacKinnon. [Heidelburg 1891].

30. "*Some Chapters in Scottish Church History.*" [A souvenir of the Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland] by Duncan A. MacKinnon. [Edinburgh, Hunter, 1893].

31. "*The Marcus Clark Memorial Volume*" by Hamilton MacKinnon. [Edited by A. MacKinnon, 1884].

32. "*Account of Messingham in the County of Lincoln*" by Rev. John MacKinnon. [Edited by E. Peacock]. [Hertford, S. Austin and Sons, 1881].

This John MacKinnon was Curate of Messingham in 1825 and was son of the Rev. Daniel MacKinnon, Rector of Bloxholm-cum-Digby (Lincoln) and Sarah his wife, the first of whom died March 28, 1825, the second on 14th April 1819.

John was born in 1791, succeeded to Bloxholm on the death of his father, married Jane-Ann daughter of D. Harding Vicar of Barton, Cambs. and d.s.p. February 8, 1873.

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## POETRY BY MEMBERS OF THE CLAN.

"*Descriptive Poems, containing picturesque views of the State of New York*" by John Daniel MacKinnon [New York 1802.]

The Poem is divided into 4 parts.

1. "The Hudson River," written in 1794 for the entertainment of a party of friends (Mr. and Mrs. Edward Livingstone and her sister) on a sail up the River to visit Mrs. Judge Livingstone and the Chancellor of the State who first established the steam-boat from New York to Albany.

2. "The Mohawk." 3. "New York in October." 4. "New York and its amusements in winter."

Each part contains from three to four hundred lines.

"*Lines written to Miss M——s*," in imitation of Sappho's Ode by John Daniel MacKinnon.

"What bliss, except in Heav'n above,
Can equal his, whom near his love
Her accents sweet with joy beguile,
While passion glistens in her smile.
Oh! how my heart delirious beat
When first I dared thy glances meet;
Eternal silence from my tongue,
My ears with wild disturbance rung,
My eyes in turbid darkness slept,
Through all my vains the poison crept,
Cold moisture issued from each pore,
A death-like tremor shook me o'er
In bliss I felt myself no more.
In vain I strive with vent'rous heart to trace
The lines angelic of thy matchless face;
In vain I seek the Muses' aid divine,
To paint from fancy what is only thine;
The manners circumspect, the voice divine,
The fairy hand and foot that never will be mine.
Let Cupid with his cicatrizing dart,
Engrave the lasting image on my heart."

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"*Written on the tomb of my great grandfather in Antigua Cathedral*" by John Daniel MacKinnon, 20th November 1802.

"Thy relics, venerable grandsire, laid
Amidst this crumbling and promiscuous wreck
Of perishable nature,* I approach
Beneath the vapourish moonbeams to enwreath
With pious hands a laurel round thy tomb.
Oft have I traced thy steps on yonder scene
That once was thy delight to contemplate
From Drope's fair eminence with cedars girt,
The vale first turned by thee and bearing yet
The impress of thy plans; the tamarind
That graceful shades thine exiled † home midst fields
Of cane—the sylvan negro—huts and mills
Round turret in the scanty avenue
Still traced by tall surviving cabbage trees.
Tho' sad the hour when from the castle's gloom
And purple heaths of Skye the generous love
Of independence bore thee o'er the deep
To azure skies, the plantain's formal shade
And spring perennial, yet thy toils remote
Have smoothed for thy posterity the path
Of life. Me perhaps tomorrow's sickly sun
Shall level at thy side to fill a crib
In this sepulchral mansion; but the grave,
To those with faith in this subordinate,
Precarious sphere who anxiously have fought
The path of duty, is the cave of peace."

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*Lines written after attending service in Westminster Abbey* by William Henry MacKinnon, at the age of 17, 1823.

"What holy rapture never known before
Do strains ecstatic on my senses pour,

---

* The season having been very sickly, the appearance of the Churchyard suggested these epithets.

† In allusion to a quarrel between Donald or Daniel and his father the Chief Lachlan Mòr which led to the emigration of the former.

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What mystic charms along the list'ning air,
New joy, new life, with heav'nly solace bear.
O that those sounds might ever o'er me roll,
That hour for ever cheer my tranquil soul,
So I the grace divine might ever feel,
And serve my God in fervour and in zeal.
Not such the joy from pleasure's cheating ray—
Not such the sweets that mines of wealth display.
But now alone the pealings of the choir
With sacred joys my rising soul inspire;
Extended o'er the sight behold on high
The House of God, in dreadful majesty;
While solemn rites its reverence increase,
With wonder fraught, and awe the mind to peace.
All these combine to soothe the human breast,
Control each care, each swelling passion rest,
While foul unholy thoughts at once depart,
And grateful piety enthralls the heart.
Is any here that harbours black desires,
Whom burning lust or rankling envy fires?
Oh! let this scene his guilty thoughts control,
Check his designs, and cheer his dismal soul.
Does any swell with high o'erweening power,
Or pride of state, the blessings of an hour?
Let such restrain his vanity of thought,
Behold his littleness, and shrink to nought;
For see throughout the world what errors blind,
What cares subvert, what passions vex the mind;
These Luxury corrupts, these wealth allures,
Each for his pleasure worlds of pain endures.
And e'en where social joys delight the heart,
Grim sorrow bends his unrelenting dart;
All feel the rigid bite of sordid care,
Relapse in doubt or sink in dark despair.
Not so the man whom lively hope sustains,
In whom sweet peace or humble virtue reigns;
With mild contempt he views the world's vain strife,
And death for him is but the road of life;

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Greatest of all and highest far is he
Who deepest feels his own humility.
My soul with conscious weakness sinks opprest;
Ease Thou my burden, Thou cans't give me rest.
Oh! let me on thy peaceful sea embark,
Thou, GOD, wilt safely guide my shattered bark;
Let not Thy gracious light in darkness shine,
Though even darkness own Thy ray divine,
Oh! may Thy word here fall on fruitful earth,
No weeds e'er choke or evil wed its birth;
Until, corrupted yet, in glorious hour
It rise again an nncorrupted flower;
Through Virtue's rugged pathway let me toil,
And this frail seed be sown in Christian soil.
Avaunt each guilty doubt and anxious fear,
For peace my soul hath sought, and Peace is here."

---

"*Epigram*" by William H. MacKinnon.

"A desp'rate chanced some gold to find,
So wisely left his rope behind;
The owner came and missed his gold,
But with the rope his loss consol'd."

---

When William H. MacKinnon was *eight* years old, he overheard his father discussing with a friend the disappointments of life and sitting down composed the following stanza:—

"Since life's a scene of so much grief,
Merciful Father, make it brief,
And grant me ere from hence I go,
No taste of its severest woe."

His father who records this in writing further informs us that his child's memory was always remarkably good, and that at twenty months old he repeated to him several times more than 40 lines of

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poetry correctly although he could scarcely articulate several of the more difficult words. He was drowned at Boulogne at the age of eighteen.

---

*A Poem* written by Daniel Henry MacKinnon, 16th (Queen's) Lancers in his tent the night before the Battle of Aliwal (January 28th, 1846).

*A Poet's Vision.*

"When tinged with vital poison, sorrow's dart
Infects the deep recesses of the heart,
When the fond hopes of life's revolving day
Suddenly and for ever pass away,
The poet strikes the harp of earlier days
In vain, to earn angelic woman's praise.
No more the seraph smile supremely bright
Haunts him by day and through the sleepless night,
To his wild hopes no sympathetic sigh
Dwells on her lips and struggles in her eye.
The cold averted mien, the careless glance,
Tell of indifference or worse perchance;
While the distracted suppliant in despair,
At the pure shrine of his majestic fair,
With throbbing heart and frantic eye surveys
The sunny goddess of his wand'ring lays.
Such to the Eastern visionary's eyes
The Houris of Mohammed's Paradise
Looked on the zealot's sufferings from above
And promised a delusive Heav'n of love.
Such the mind's vision, but not such a form
Hath mortal artist on his tablets drawn,
Nor beauty like in elegance and grace,
Divine Kalista, loveliest of her race.
Her silken tresses of that richest brown
Which for Calabria's maids hath earned renown,
Float round a face whose oval symmetry
Defies objection from the critic's eye.
The fairy colours of that damask rose,

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"Which on Gulistan's favoured mountain grows,
Blend on her cheek their variegated light,
Contrasting with a neck of dazzling white,
Whose rounded eloquence and swelling grace
Canova's matchless art would fail to trace;
Spotless as alabaster, purer far
Than the bright snows which rest on Uam Var
In my dear native Highlands, whose bleak height
No more will glad a lonely wanderer's sight;
Each chiselled feature classically traced
Proclaims a master-piece divinely chased,
Such as no mortal eye hath seen before,
Nor will again till time shall be no more.
Let Cashmere and Circassia boast a race,
Unequalled hitherto in form and face;
Their languid figures, hopeless in the shade
Shrink from Hibernia's bright unrivalled maid.
The poetry of form, the type of love,
A vision which has strayed from realms above:
Oh! that to gaze for ever on that sight,
To kneel in happiness and mute delight;
To feel the magic of that sparkling eye
Brighter than any planet in the sky,
To hear that voice's soft harmonious strain
Float in my ears and thrilling in my brain;
To seek in that joyous mind with loving care,
Each playful thought, by fancy harboured there,
Might to an earnest supplicant be giv'n
To sum his span of life and hopes of heaven.
Perish the dream, alas! too well I see
Kalista's brow forbid such destiny,
With mild contempt the all relentless fair
Smiles on her victim but rejects his pray'r.
Away, Kalista wills it, her decree
Makes earth a blighted wilderness to me;
My heart the victim of her cruel scorn
Like Autumn's leaves lies withered and forlorn.

---

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Far o'er the billows in those distant lands,
Where gleam with torrid heat the whitened sands,
On India's deserts, hark! the barren cry
Of the shrill trumpet echoing through the sky
Calls to their banners, England's chivalry;
Mad with excitement the wild chargers scream
In the sun's rays the bristling lances gleam,
Along the ranks in solemn stern array,
Each British heart beats eager for the fray.
O'er the dark waters of the Ravee's tide
And from the craggy steeps of Khyber's side
The war shout echoes, sheathed in chained mail,
From Attock's rocky height and Cashmere's vale
In countless hordes the swarthy warriors throng
To the deep clangour of their threat'ning gong.
'Death to the Christian' shout the Paynim band,
'Death to the tyrants of our native land,
'No more the temples of these Christian swine
'Shall look in mockery on Namuk's shrine.
'Our wild Halkalee's shrill exulting cry
'Hail Govin's favoured race with victory.'
Swift from their sheaths the ready weapons spring,
Far o'er the plain the Aeen matchlocks ring,
Through the dim cloud the vivid lightnings flash,
On the stunned ear the thundering cannons crash,
I fly to greet the most auspicious day
Which beckons me with kindly hand away
To meet that destiny, by far the best
A breaking heart could seek—a soldier's rest.
And should fell Clotho's unrelenting dart
Unerring pierce her willing victim's heart,
The last fond vision on that welcome plain
Will be Kalista's image in my dying brain.

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*A Poem*, written after Aliwal by Daniel Henry MacKinnon, 16th (Queen's) Lancers.

"*Aliwal.*"

The author commences by quoting from the last poem the lines "Far o'er the billows," &c., to "Hail! Govin's favoured race with victory," and then proceeds:

The turbid waters of Hyphasis' stream
With many a burnished casque and morion gleam,
While the fanatic Khelsas from Lahore
Rush madly onwards to the British shore;
The cannon laden high with shell and ball
Are dragged in breathless haste to Aliwal,
And the loud yells which o'er the welkin ring,
Salute the haughty chieftain, Runjoor Singh.

Mark yonder cloud which with the break of day
On the horizon's verge appears to stay,
Yet denser growing as the god of light
Faintly discloses objects to the sight,
Now seems in murky folds to spread a pall
On the low sandy ridge near Aliwal,
Yet ever and anon thenceforth is seen
A glitter as of sword or helmet's gleam.

Ha! yon Goorchera's horseman from the height
Hath surely seen a spirit-moving sight,
In frantic haste he dashes from the mound,
Clearing the broad entrenchment at a bound;
The flashing tolwar and uplifted hand
Proclaim the signal all can understand—
"The foe! the foe!" from lip to lip is passed,
And far and near resounds the warning blast.
Now gird your loins, ye ruthless Khelsa host,
An iron arm and heart must be the boast
Of those among ye who would honour gain
From Albion's children on the battle plain.
Swift from their sheaths the ready weapons spring,
O'er the wide plain the Aeen matchlocks ring,
Through the dim cloud the vivid lightnings flash

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On the stunned ear the thund'ring cannons crash.
The ranks are torn by many a crashing ball,
Fast through the air the hissing missiles fall,
Yet firm and closing at each deadly blow,
The British line advances on the foe.
Hark! to that wild huzza upon our right—
By heavn's! eye hath not seen a grander sight
Than yonder glittering and compact array
Of gallant Britons rushing to the fray.

"Down with the curs'd Feringees—spare not one,
"Down, slay with matchlock, knife and yataghan."
From lip to lip the exhortation flies,
And Sikh in clamour with his comrade vies.
Vain is the struggle, vain in every land
To meet the British soldier hand to hand.
Back, brave but vanquish'd Sikhs, back ye must fall
From trench and camp, from battery and wall;
Although the victim and unclouded sky
Have yielded a propitious augury,
Though swelling numbers and fanatic zeal
Have giv'n delusive promises of weal,
Ye cannot face yon line of flashing steel!

See now! amongst these trees upon our left
A band of wild Goorcheras steal by theft
To gain the British rear. By heav'ns they come.
And hark! from Boondree's walls the kettledrum
Proclaims the blood-stained tyrants of Lahore,
The Aeen legions, who but lately swore
In solemn compact not to sheathe their swords,
Nor to re-cross the Sutlej, save as lords
Of the Feringhee and Hindostan;
Nor should their conquests in that narrow span
Be stinted, not a Briton should be spared,
Their wives and lands amidst the victors shared;
Thence onward will the conqu'ring heroes go
Till London echo with the notes of war,

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And humbled England bend the stubborn knee
To own the Punjaub's awful sovereignty!

Presumptuous boasters—see, the sunbeams glance
On yonder line of many a pennoned lance,
Five hundred British hearts beneath them beat,
Men who know not the meaning of defeat,
From Spain and France, to Cabul—Gwalior's heights,
The road to victory lies through their ranks.
Khelsas, prepare, for onward come the Franks.

Each British squadron, now their line assigned,
Advance with pennons fluttering in the wind,
Their gallant Chieftain ever in the front
Eager to meet the battle's rudest brunt;
Tow'ring above the loftiest of the band,
Points to the batt'ries his glittering brand.
On, on, Sikh horse or foot shall not avail,
Nor bullets flying as a storm of hail,
With levelled lance and anger-flashing eye
Dash to the combat Britain's cavalry.

As through some forest the tornado's blast
Hath torn a mighty passage as it pass'd,
Rending beneath its adamantine hand
The giant offspring of a torrid land;
So on that plain the boasting Khelsas fell,
Breathing defiance with expiring yell;
Rent and confused, their new formation lost,
And by the foe in each direction cross'd,
The broken legions yield the fatal plain
Which all in solemn conclave swore to gain.
In wild disorder, yet with ling'ring feet,
The routed army doggedly retreat,
Each flank upon the centre rudely cast,
All hope of vict'ry or resistance pass'd,
The Sutlej fords receive the sullen host,
Who ten days since those turbid waters crossed
In panoply and purple on their way,
To crush for aye Britannia's Eastern sway.

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Still on the wavering masses press the foe,
And deal destruction's shafts at every blow;
Now dash the headlong masses in the stream
Chieftain and serf, Goorchera and Aeen,
And loud and fierce is heard the savage cry
Of trampled soldiers in their agony.
The fords are lost—the swollen waters rise,
And maniac tumult rends the lurid skies;
Far over all resounds the stunning roar
Of thirty cannon from the British shore,
Tearing a lane amidst the struggling bands,
O'er thrown with mangled bodies, legs and hands,
Fell havoc reigned with undisputed sway
And revelled in the carnage of that day.

The ruthless Khelsas, long their country's pest,
Debarring friend and foe alike from rest,
Red with their kinsmen's and their chieftain's gore
Shed daily in each quarter of Lahore,
Whose god was rapine, and whose law the sword,
Have found this day a suitable reward;
The hour of retribution for the past,
Though long delayed, hath surely come at last.

The sun which lit both armies to the fray,
Now sheds his parting beams on each array,
In serried bands the British forces stand
Viewing the wreck accomplished by their hands.

Four thousand Sikhs have fall'n to rise no more,
The remnant wildly stray on yonder shore;
They who have saved by flight their useless lives
Now dare not meet their comrades or their wives;
Each dark-eyed daughter of the Punjaub's scorn
Will greet the recreant fugitive's return.

Now ruddy twilight deepens on the scene,
And placidly expands his misty screen,
When through the air a rushing furnace springs,
And peal on peal the doubling thunder rings.

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Far o'er the Punjaub glared that rolling light
And accurately marked each craggy height;
The turbid waters of Hyphasis' stream
Like liquid fire in wavy circlets gleam,
Whilst darkly beetling on the further shore,
Rocked to its base the fortress of Philore.

A fitting requiem to the fall'n in fight,
The exploded mine still hovered in the night,
Spreading a pall on dark Hyphasis' wave,
The Punjaub's boundary and the Khelsa's grave,
Whose waters, crimsoned in their turbid way,
Drop a dark curtain on that tragic day.

---

*Lines written on the Cliffs of Boulogne*, by Daniel H. MacKinnon, January 1831 aged 17.

At length with weary steps I've reached the height
Of these steep cliffs. Extended to the sight,
The deep dark waters of the Channel flow,
And foaming bathe the craggy rocks below,
Whilst Dover's cliffs in firm position stand,
And seem to menace the opposing land,
Which sage conjecturers madly have believed
By a convulsive shock, asunder reaved.
Vain idlers! Though both strata be the same,
Yet may they not beneath the waves remain
Connected? Thus destroying what they've coined,
That o'er the channel both these cliffs were joined.
High tow'ring o'er the rocks and barren sands,
See, on the right, Napoleon's column stands,
Ambitious as its founder, raised on high,
With lofty summit pointing to the sky;
From its high station viewing far away
The land which checked Napoleon's haughty sway,
Between yon hills (perhaps asunder riv n
By Sage's hypothesis, or bolt from heav'n,



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Or any of the late wild phantasies)
The ancient town of sea-girt Boulogne lies,
On this high rock whence tranquil I survey
The passing vehicles and dusty way,
Tradition tells that mighty Cæsar's hand
Fix'd his grim Eagle, terror of the land.
Here even yet remains the mould'ring wall
A mark of triumph o'er the conquered Gaul.
See, o'er this classic land there rises high
A smoking volume mounting to the sky,
And swiftly issuing from the pier is seen,
'Gainst tide and wind, a vessel urg'd by steam
As Roman deeds and ancient works decay,
Invention urges on her wond'rous way
(Oh, genial bounty of the Almighty's will
That grants to mortals such unbounded skill:
And that a creature, born so soon to die,
Should frame works kin to Immortality!)
The ancients, as we read, in times gone by,
By night, whilst sailing, watch'd the cloudless sky,
And even thus they could not wander far,
Their solitary guide the Polar star;
But should dark clouds arise they lost their way
And wandered far before the break of day,
But now the daring arm of man can guide
His fragile bark against the adverse tide
And winds, and safely steer by day and night
Without the ancient requisite of light,
Or distant land's refreshing sight—
The moaning wind's low melancholy cry
And sombre vapours rolling through the sky,
The raging tempest's fast approach proclaim,
Descending swiftly now in drifting rain.
The crowd that listless strolled along the shore
To view the parting vessel leave the "Port,"
Are gone—each under cover safely pent
And shelter'd from the wat'ry element.
True symbol of their false inconstant ways,

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Who, whilst we bask beneath the genial rays
Of mild prosperity, will swarm to share
The nightly pleasures and luxurious fare;
But when the storms of fortune gather round
They fly dismayed and nowhere can be found.
Happy the man that then has one true friend,
Whom all the frowns of fortune ne'er can rend
From her attachment ended but with life,
That of his virtuous, faithful, loving wife.
But, Lear-like, I will no longer stand
And bid this deluge overwhelm the land—
Farewell, ye verdant cliffs and rocks, farewell—
My mem'ry vividly can trace and tell
The many happy days I've numbered here
In the blithe seasons of an earlier year;
Gone are they now, like summer flow'rs, and passed,
Too sure I feel that they must be the last
I'm destined to experience here below
In this brief scene of trial and of woe;
But still, in future days, should life remain,
With pleasure will my memory retain
Those blithesome times, and with a glist'ning tear
Recall the happiest mark of my career.

---

*Ode to Contemplation*, by Daniel H. MacKinnon.

In the still solemn hour of night,
When balmy sleep wraps mortal sight,
Sweet Contemplation, heav'nly Maid,
Approach, and lend thy gracious aid.
Then through bright regions let me rove
And taste the joys of purest love,
Or offer to my ravished mind
The Bays of Bravery refin'd;
Illustrious Triumph there display,
Where spotless Virtue points the way,
Or lead me to that blest abode
Where dwells the image of my God;



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My warmest vows there let me pour,
And with true Reverence adore,
Bear witness to my vows sincere,
Nor check the visionary tear.
Thence let me fly with airy wing
To view the transient bloom of spring,
Or beauties of the falling year
In silent grandeur disappear.
Then muse among yon lonesome elms,
Which now the low'ring storm o'erwhelms,
Think how the transitory hour
Flies like the blossom of a flow'r,
And the vast pomp of boundless Fame
Leaves scarce the relic of a name,
Hence waft me to some dismal coast
O'erspread with wrecks untimely lost,
Where the tempestuous billows roar
And foaming lave the desert shore.
Here let my lively sorrows flow
And melt in sympathy of woe,
Think on those friends who in my youth
Guided me to the paths of truth,
Checked ev'ry wicked thought and word
And bid me truly serve the Lord.
Alas! for ever gone are they,
And I am left to toil my way
Through life's detested lonesome road,
Deprived of those I truly loved,
Whose kind uninterested care I know
'Tis vain to seek for here below;
For turning on each side I see
Pow'r, riches, beauty, vanity
Promoted by each subtle art,
Choke all good feelings of the heart,
Then let me turn, what part remains
Of life, to serve my God, Who reigns
Clad in bright glory thron'd on high,
The King of Kings to all eternity.

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*Electra's Lamentation for the Fall of her Family*, by Daniel H. MacKinnon.

STROPHE.

Hark thou, Pelasgia, to the cry
Raised by my rueful destiny,
A bleeding pathway down my face
My lacerating nails shall trace
An off'ring to the gods below,
The fosterers of direful woe.
Let Cyclop's land too howl around
And veil the face in death-like shroud,
For this commiseration comes on all
When those (who once were Graica's chieftains) fall.

ANTISTROPHE.

Yea! Pelop's race now all are gone,
That ancient powerful house has fall'n.
The gods' decree and Argos' hate
Have hastened on our grievous fate.
Alas! ye tear-fraught toil-versed tribes
Of fleeting man, see, fate describes
How contrary to human thought
Our wishes terminate in nought,
Whilst grievous suff'ring we are doom'd t'endure,
For all the life of mortals is unsure.

EPODE.

Would I could wander into sight
Of that revolving massy light
By golden chains suspended high
Midway between the earth and sky,
Where high enthron'd I'd see the face
Of Tantalus, from whom this race
Hath sprung; who witnessed havoc dire
When warlike Pelops, my great sire,
Dashed Myrtilus into the flood
Of Ocean, vanquishing the steed
Of Œnomaus. Soon after came
That doleful curse, the gold fleeced lamb.

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Then from the Ecliptic's western road,
To rosy fingered morn's abode,
Fell Discord drove Apollo far,
Repelling swift his winged car.
By Jove's decree the Pleiades fell back
And turned their western to an eastern track;
Then deaths in quick succession came—
Thyestes' feast, our lasting shame,
Adult'rous Clytemnestra's hateful lust,
Our helpless family humbled to the dust.

---

On Miss M——s, by Daniel H. MacKinnon.

As oft majestic in their mid career,
When deep in silence reigns the tranquil night,
The beauteous Moon's refulgent orbs appear
Amid the smaller stars diminished light.

Thus o'er her conquer'd rivals soars supreme
Sweet M——s, blooming as the dawn of May,
Nor greater lustres round the Temple's beam
Of Phœbus in meridian height of day.

The little fairy foot and sylph-like form,
Which to the *beau ideal* of the Muse aspires,
That eye which would a heart of iron warm,
And kindle with its dark but flashing fires.

But ah! with Time, sweet M——s' bloom shall fail,
Her graces vanish and their blossom fade;
Those glowing cheeks are destined to be pale,
And in their hues the pow'r of Death displayed.

---

Lines written after the Reform Riots in England, in imitation of Horace (Epode XVI.), by Daniel H. MacKinnon.

Now has another age in discord pass'd
And by her own pow'rs England falls at last,
Which the proud Frenchman never could defeat,
Nor brave Napoleon thund'ring at her gate,

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Nor rival Ireland's turmoils, joined with all
The recent treaties of the faithless Gaul,
Nor could the blue-eyed youth of Germany,
Nor Washington, bane of our ancestry.
No, we, the offspring of a cursed race
Shall perish all, and quietly give place
To rav'nous beasts and savage birds of prey
To rule our lands in undisputed sway.

---

*On the death of Gray the Poet*, by Daniel H. MacKinnon.

Death is a debt that all mankind must pay
We must acknowledge his unbounded sway.
But Worth has raised a monument as great
Which yields not to the urgency of Fate.
Poór Gray is gone; but his immortal name,
Firm as the cliffs of Albion will remain.

---

*Translation of Anacreon's Ode*, by Daniel H. MacKinnon.

When nature first kindly began
To distribute her gifts o'er the land,
She bounteously dealt them to man
And to brutes with a generous hand.

The bull she armed with hornèd head.
With swiftest foot the timid hare,
Man was by sapient wisdom led,
T'avoid each subtle snare.

Her store was now entirely spent,
Another gift she did not know
For woman, the bright ornament
Of all things here below.

The happy thought at length occurred
And beauty fell to woman's right,
Which rules the passions, fire and sword,
And quickly governs at first sight.

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Your pow'r then mercifully use,
  Let not your lovers vainly burn,
Nor man your abject slave abuse,
  Or proud his domination spurn.

---

There is a poem extant written in Latin hexameter verse at the age of sixteen "On the death of his father" by the same author. He also wrote an ode "εἰς παρθένον" in Greek Iambic Dimeter.

---

Colonel Walter C. MacKinnon (late 3rd Buffs) wrote in 1877 a book of poems entitled "A few flowers from the garden of Sheikh Saadi Shirazi being translations into English verse of portions of the Bustān."

It consists of ten chapters each with several "stories." We give one as a specimen as it would be impossible to print them all.

A certain man had money without end,
But had not pluck to part with it and spend;
He would not use it and in comfort live,
Nor, fearing he might want, to others give;
His life was bound up in his darling gold,
Useless, as money in a miser's hold.
His son in ambush watching him one day
Discovered where the old man's treasure lay,
He dug it up and carried it away,
And left a big stone in its place they say!
The generous youth full soon the money spent,
Lightly it came and speedily it went.
The father clutched his throat with frenzy wild,
The son with harp and lute the hours beguiled;
The one lamenting sleepless passed the night,
The other laughed when broke the morning light,
And said, "Oh! father, gold for use was given,
A stone in value equals it if hidden."

"Men force the stubborn ore to yield its wealth
That they may give and live in ease and wealth

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Gold in his hands who worships it alone
Is still, my brother, locked up in the stone;
If you, while living, grudge your children bread,
Complain not if they, hungry, wish you dead,
And think if you would only fall down stairs
And break your neck, the money would be theirs!
The miser watching his beloved hoard
Is like a talisman by man abhorred,
A few years it remaineth in the ground
While th' uncanny object hovers round;
The shaft of death shall strike him unaware,
And others shall in ease his treasures share.
Why ant-like ever toiling, gathering be?
Enjoy thy wealth before the ant eats thee."

"The words of Saadi are as proverbs wise,
Useful to him who in his calling strives.
Alas! that men from wisdom turn aside,
For in it treasures numberless abide."

---

"I am a note of British linen
I've long been kept by L. MacKinnen
Where'er you go, you'll find 'em willing
To give for me just twenty shilling."

I have been unable to trace the origin or authorship of the above stanza.

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## PARTICULARS OF THE ESTATE OF STRATHAIRD, ISLE OF SKYE.

I think it may be of some interest to insert briefly an account of the property as it stands at the present time. This notice is of so recent a date as 1895 *i.e.* soon after the death of Sir William MacKinnon Bart. of Balnakill, Argyllshire who had purchased it from the representatives of the Bowers family.

The estate of Strathaird is situated near the south end of the Isle, and is bounded on the West or North West by MacLeod of MacLeod's Estate and on the North by Lord MacDonald's Estate.

Strathaird extends to about 12,700 acres, [how are the mighty fallen! Last century it was at least 26 miles long by 6 miles wide, exclusive of islets!]; of which about 600 acres are considered to be arable, and the remainder hill and pasture-land. The Estate commands some of the most magnificent views in the West Highlands, it being in the neighbourhood of Loch Coruisk and the Cuchullins.

The Mansion-house, situated at Kilmaree, is a well-finished modern building, erected by the late Sir William MacKinnon Bart. with good gardens and policies tastefully laid out and planted.

There is also a cottage at Caimusunary erected for the convenience of sportsmen and for the lake fishing. As regards sport, the Estate is considered a good one for its size and is susceptible of being converted into a deer-forest. It marches with Lord MacDonald's deer-forest. The grouse-shooting is fair. There are also deer, besides woodcock, snipe, partridges &c. The fishing is both river and lake—the latter being considered first-rate. The sea-fishing is also said to be excellent and there is good anchorage for a yacht at Faolin.

In an ordinary season the game and fish might be as follows: 200 brace of grouse; 50 couple woodcock; 60 couple snipe; 30 brace of partridges besides abundance of rabbits; about four stags and five hinds yearly. The fishing on the lakes should yield between 300 and 400 sea trout and the fish run from seven to eight pounds.

Below is the Rental but it should be kept in view that nearly

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the whole of the Estate was in the late proprietor's hands. The farms of Kilmaree and Kirkibost were in his own occupation, the rent stated in the Valuation Roll for these is £210, as well as the farm of Glasnakille, the rent of which, per the Valuation Roll, is £40.

The stock on the farms of Kilmaree and Kirkibost is about 1,500 Cheviot sheep and a few cattle, and on Glasnakille about 200 sheep but the latter farm is not fully stocked; the full stock should be 350 black-faced ewes and "gimmers." The late proprietor expended considerable sums in improving the property and in particular, new offices with modern improvements have been erected at Kirkibost. It might be mentioned that the mansion-house has good bed and reception rooms, servants' rooms, kitchen, scullery, baths, &c—a good keeper's house, stables, washing-house, laundry, byre &c, boat-house and coal-house.

RENTAL.

Elgol Tenants.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Proprietor (Kirkibost) .. .. .. | 210 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto (Glasnakille) .. .. .. | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Caimasunary .. .. .. .. | 150 | 0 | 0 |
| Cottage No. 1. .. .. .. .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Gardener's Cottage .. .. .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Cottage No. 2. .. .. .. .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Strath School-Board Cottage .. .. | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Cottage No. 3. .. .. .. .. | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Cottage No. 4. .. .. .. .. | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Mansion house, shooting &c. .. .. | 400 | 0 | 0 |
| Faolin Cottage No. 1. .. .. .. | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto No. 2. .. .. .. | 7 | 10 | 0 |
| Strath School Board (Elgol site).. .. | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| House and Shop at Kilmanny .. .. | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| 39 other holdings.. .. .. .. | 74 | 9 | 0 |
| Total .. | £937 | 9 | 0 |

As regards these latter it is interesting to note that they are held by 27 MacKinnons—the other names which occur being

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Robertson, MacPhie, McGillivray, MacDonald, McArthur, MacKintosh, Grant and Macrae. *All Highlanders.*

The extent of land held by the crofters is 70 acres arable, 70 acres pasture and 912 acres common hill-grazing.

PUBLIC BURDENS.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Minister's Stipend .. .. .. | 102 | 14 | 0 |
| Land tax .. .. .. .. .. | 5 | 14 | 4 |
| Proprietor's proportion of County Assessment .. .. .. .. | 10 | 11 | 10 |
| Public Health Assessment .. .. | 2 | 9 | 4 |
| Road Ditto .. .. .. .. | 8 | 11 | 6 |
| Poor and School Rate .. .. .. | 74 | 9 | 9 |
| | £204 | 10 | 9 |
| Free Rental . | £731 | 18 | 3 |
| | £936 | 9 | 0 |

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## THE CLAN MACKINNON SOCIETY.

This Soeiety was instituted on 22nd December, 1891, the meeting being called by advertisement in the Glasgow papers and the "Oban Times," and held in the Waterloo Rooms, Glasgow, Twenty-five Clansmen were present, and on the motion of Moses MacKinnon, Duncan MacKinnnon of John Knox Street, Glasgow, was unanimously called to the chair. It was then agreed *nem. con.* to form a Clan MacKinnon Society; all present enrolled themselves members, and after some routine business, and the appointment of an *ad interim* Secretary and Treasurer, the meeting was adjourned till the 15th of January, 1892 and a committee appointed to frame rules. A large number of Clansmen attended on the second occasion and the first office-bearers were unanimously elected on 28th April 1892. As at various times questions had been raised on the subject of Chiefship, which indeed is by no means an unusual circumstance, and has been the fate of most Highland Clans; Mr. Duncan MacKinnon took the very proper course of advertising twice in the "Oban Times" and then of giving notice that anyone who pretended to have a claim to the Chiefship must lodge the said claim with him before the election of office-bearers, accompanied by documentary evidence, and such claim would be duly considered. No one came forward, so William Alexander MacKinnon, M.A., Ex-M.P., J.P., D.L. etc. of Acryse, Kent was declared by the Society to be the recognised Chief of the Clan. At the same time, the following other office-bearers were elected;

### Honorary Presidents:

Sir William MacKinnon Bart., of Balinakill and Strathaird.

Sir William Alexander MacKinnon, M.D. K.C.B. Director General Army Medical Department, London.

Francis Alexander MacKinnon, M.A., J.P. Kent.

### Honorary Vice-Presidents:

General George H. MacKinnon, C.B., London.

Col. W. H. MacKinnon, A.A.G., Home District.

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Rev. Donald D. Mackinnon, M.A., F.R.G.S.; Rector of Speldhurst, Kent.

Alan M. Mackinnon, B.A., Private Secretary to Postmaster General, London.

Col. Lionel D. Mackinnon, Dochgarroch, Inverness.

Ranald E. E. MacKinnon, London.

A. K. MacKinnon, Oxford Gardens, London.

Duncan MacKinnon, Austin Friars, London.

John MacKinnon, Hyde Park Gardens, London.

PRESIDENT:

Duncan MacKinnon, John Knox Street, Glasgow.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

Quarter-master William MacKinnon, Hamilton.

James MacKinnon, Hillhead, Glasgow.

Alexander D. MacKinnon, Edinburgh.

Donald MacKinnon, Greenock.

HONORARY SECRETARY:

John MacKinnon, Hillhead, Glasgow.

HONORARY TREASURER:

Andrew MacKinnon, Commercial Bank of Scotland, Glasgow.

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CLAN BARD:

Donald R. MacKinnon, Govan.

CLAN PIPERS:

Pipe-Major Robert MacKinnon, Glasgow.

Allan MacKinnon, Glasgow.

Alexander MacKinnon, Glasgow.

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George MacKinnon, Glasgow
Alexander MacKinnon, of Larkhall, Lanarkshire.
William MacKinnon (late Piper 74th Regiment) Hamilton.

We should not have space to print all the rules, suffice it to say that the object of the Society is the fostering of Clan sentiment; the cultivation of social intercourse among the members, the rendering of assistance to deserving Clansmen; the encouragement of education; and the collecting and preserving of records and traditions bearing on the history of the Clan; and the encouraging of Celtic Literature and Highland Arts and Industries.

The successive Presidents have been:

1891-4. Duncan MacKinnon, now of Crossmichael Kircudbrightshire.

1894-6. William MacKinnon, Firlea, Cathcart.

1896-7. Robert MacKinnon, 10 Victoria Street, Govan.

1897 to the present time, William K. MacKinnon, Kilmorie, Pollokshields.

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## PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED.

Forbes' Jacobite Memoirs.
Jesse's Memoirs of the Pretenders.
Ewald's Life of Prince Charles Stuart.
Skene's Highlanders.
Thomson's Memoirs of the Jacobites.
MacPherson's Original Papers.
Lockhart's Life of Scott.
James' Naval History.
Boswell's Life of Johnson.
Gregory's Highlands and Isles.
Chambers' Biographical Dictionary.
Royal Military Panorama.
Chambers' History of the Scotch Rebellions.
Martin's Western Islands.
Hogg's Jacobite Relics.
Pennant's Tour in Western Highlands.
Browne's Highland Clans.
Gronow's Reminiscences.
McIan's Highland Clans.
Memoirs of Picton.
History of Clan MacLean.
Logan's Clans.
MacLean's Iona.
Southey's Peninsular War.
Monro's Western Isles.
Gurwood's Despatches.
Henderson's Rebellion of 1745.
Catherine Sinclair's Scotland.
Blackie's Language of the Highlands.
Campbell's Popular Tales.
Ryan's Crimean Heroes.
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Sobieski Stuart's Costumes of the Clans.
Collectanea de rebus Albanicis (Iona Club).
Sobieski and Charles Edward Stuart's Vestiarium Scoticum.

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Privy Council Registers.
History of Clan MacDonald.
MacInnes' Brave Sons of Skye.
Acts of Parliament—Scotland.
Skene's Celtic Scotland.
Douglas' Baronage.
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# THE ROYAL FAMILIES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES. By Sir Burnard Burke.

## WILLIAM ALEXANDER MACKINNON.

Edward I., King of England = Margaret, daughter of Phillip III., King of France.

Edward Plantagenet, d. 1329, 1st Earl of Kent = Margaret, sister and heir of Thomas, Lord Wake

Elizabeth = Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex.

Edward the Black Prince, = The Lady Joan Planta- = First Sir Thomas

Lady Eleanor de Bohun, = James, Earl of Ormonde.

Henry Vernon, of Hilton, second son, co. Stafford. = Margaret, only dau. of Wm. Ladkins, of Shaw, co. Stafford, and Helledon, co. Warwick.

Edward Vernon, of London, second son of Henry Vernon, of Hilton, b. Dec. 28th, 1665, d. at Aleppo in 1742.

=

James Vernon, son and heir of Edward Vernon. = Lydia, dau. of Edw. Purnell.

Louisa, dau. and co-heir of James Vernon, m. in 1768. = William MacKinnon, of Antigua and Binfield, Berks, Chief of the Clan.

William MacKinnon, eldest son, d. v. p. 1794. = Harriet, dau. of John Fry, of Antigua.

William Alexander MacKinnon, M.P., of Hyde Park Place and Acrise, Kent, Chief of the Clan, d. 1870. = Aug. 3, 1812, Emma, only dau. of Joseph Budworth Palmer, of Rush House, co. Dublin.

William Alexander MacKinnon, M.P., of Hyde Park Place, and Acrise, Kent, Chief of the Clan, b. 1813, *20th in a direct line from King Edward I.* = April 27, 1846, Margaret Sophia, only dau. of Francis Willes, by Caroline his wife, dau. of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart.

Francis-Alexander = Emily-Isabel, dau. of Admiral Lord Hood of Avalon.

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